Vol. XXX MEMORIAL NUMBER No. 4

Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

RECEIVED
19 APR 1940

APRIL 1940

PUBLISHED BY THE MYTHIC SOCIETY
AT THE DALY MEMORIAL HALL, CENOTAPH ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

America $ 1 India Rs. 2-0-0 Foreign 4 *Sh.*

Journal of the Mythic Society

BANGALORE CITY

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PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH

BY

The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto, Japan.

Annual Subscription : England—15 sh. ; France—65 franc ; U.S.A.—$ 3.50 ; Special Price for India—8 Rupees. Post Free.

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HIS HIGHNESS

SIR SRI KANTIRAVA NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, G.C.I.E.

BORN 5TH JULY 1888 DIED 11TH MARCH 1940

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

IN MEMORY OF

HIS HIGHNESS

SIR SRI KANTIRAVA

NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR

G.C.I.E.

YUVARAJA OF MYSORE

5TH JULY 1888 – 11TH MARCH 1940

VICE-PATRON OF

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, 1909 – 1940

THE FOURTH NUMBER OF VOL. XXX IS ISSUED

AS A MEMORIAL NUMBER

S. SRIKANTAYA

HIS HIGHNESS SIR SRI KANTIRAVA NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., YUVARAJA OF MYSORE

THE sad news of the demise of His Highness the Yuvaraja Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., in the early hours on Monday the 11th of March 1940 at Bombay, cast a gloom over the whole of Mysore and elsewhere where His Highness was known to be a very popular figure in social circles. A Gazette-Extraordinary was issued announcing the death of His Highness the Yuvaraja. All Public Offices, Courts and Educational Institutions were directed to be closed. The Mysore Flag was kept at half-mast on all Institutions. Minute guns corresponding to the age of His Highness were fired at Mysore and Bangalore. The ashes (the last remains) were brought to Mysore on Thursday the 14th of March 1940 when also profound mourning and complete hartal were observed throughout the State. The ashes which were brought to the Mysore City in a silver urn were taken in procession from the Banni Mantap at 7–30 A.M., through a richly decorated motor trailer with all due honours to Chamaripati Gardens. Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Sir Charles Todhunter, Sir D'Arcy Reilly, members of the Executive Council and the Chief Secretary to the Government, a number of Ursu nobles and loyal citizens with several Europeans accompanied the procession. The remains were interred by the side of the Brindavan of his mother, Her late Highness the Maharanee of Mysore.

Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur was the second son of the late Maharaja of Mysore, Chamarajendra Wadiyar of illustrious memory and was born on Thursday the 5th of July 1888. He had his early education along with his brother under Sir Stuart Fraser and Diwan Bahadur P. Raghavendra Rao. Sir Stuart Fraser afterwards became the British Resident in Mysore and Mr. Raghavendra Rao, himself

the son of a well-known scholar and administrator Purna Krishna Rao, retired as a member of the Executive Council of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and is happily still with us. In the Summer Palace, where His Highness lived with his brother and his companions, regular class-work and the course of instruction in drill, riding and outdoor games such as cricket and tennis as well as polo and hunting were practised. He had also travelled all over the State while young. In 1901 he accompanied his brother to Burma and visited Pegu, Mandalay and other well-known places. In 1903 he joined the Mayo Rajkumar College at Ajmer which, however, he had to leave on account of a severe attack of enteric fever. In 1904 Captain R. J. W. Heale, and M. A. Narayana Iyengar (who on his retirement as a distinguished servant of the State, is now an ardent and devoted member of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission having taken holy orders) became his tutors and teachers. Even at this early age the keenness of his intellect, the kindness of his heart, the charm of his manners and the greatness of his sportsmanship showed themselves. With His Highness the Maharaja he was called at an early age by the lamented demise of their father the late Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar of revered memory to a large share in the responsibilities of the State and supported His Highness in innumerable measures for the public good. In 1908–09 the Yuvaraja visited Japan. In 1910, he married Kempa Cheluvajammanni, the fourth daughter of the late Sirdar Dalvoy Devaraj Urs, a distinguished Ursu nobleman. In 1911 he attended the Delhi Durbar in connection with the Coronation of George V, King and Emperor and was created a Knight Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. In 1913 he went to Europe where he spent a life of ceaseless toil visiting numerous institutions and studying the varied activities of the countries which he visited : England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium. After his return he was the Military Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja and then held for several years the Office of the Extraordinary Member of the Executive Council of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in

which capacity he was in charge of the Portfolios of the Police, Medical, Military, Sanitation and Prison Departments. His Highness was in charge of the Military Portfolio when War broke out and he threw himself with all enthusiasm into the task of securing as great a response as possible for the relief of suffering and distress. In particular, he was responsible for the opening of a separate fund to provide Mysore troops at the front with special comforts and to remove want and distress among the members of their families left behind. In 1915 the title of G.C.I.E. was conferred upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor. In 1918 His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor conferred upon him the unusual honour of the title of "His Highness" as a personal distinction for services rendered in connection with the War. On the 18th of July 1919, Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, son and heir to the Yuvaraja, was born. "To the people of Mysore, just emerging from the gloom of varied troubles, his birth signified the return of a normal and happier time, while his surname 'Jaya' commemorates the victory of the British in the Great War." In 1920 His Highness went to Europe to study at first hand the problems of reconstruction then engaging the attention of the statesmen in Europe.

His Highness was an accomplished gentleman of very refined tastes and fond of sports. He travelled in foreign countries a number of times and the tours were of great profit to the State. During a short and crowded life he presided over many conferences and exhibitions and engaged himself in a number of activities calculated for the moral and material progress of our beautiful country. In the economic, scout and co-operative movements his interest was unbounded. It would be no exaggeration to say that he was the friend, philosopher and guide of all these. He was the Chief Scout for Mysore always prepared to assist the people in every thing calculated for the progress of Mysore. His zeal in the economic development of the State has been testified by his personal friend and schoolmate, the illustrious Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza M. Ismail. The welfare of the depressed

classes, whose hostels are named after him in many places in the State will carry the memory of his work to future generations. He was interested everywhere in the housing of the poor and his inspiring speech made a couple of years ago at the opening of the Agrahar Extensions at Mysore is vivid in our memory. He was the Patron of the Red Cross Society and took much interest in the work of that Society. He was also interested in the schemes for maternity and child welfare. He was a generous Patron of the school for deaf and blind boys. He was the President of the Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals and always showed a keen and liberal interest in its welfare.

He was a patron of music, arts and letters as much as he was interested in social reforms and in the industrial progress of our country. Ever since its inception he was associated with the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat of which he was the Founder-President. He was a Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society since its foundation and his interest in its progress was keen. His knowledge of the histories of the several countries was profound and His Highness was also a Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University. There is public testimony of his activities all over the State where buildings, foundation-stones, memorials, towns, streets and villages bear the fame of his name. His speeches would fill volumes and the volumes would be full of kindly wisdom. In the later years of his life he became a great traveller and broadened his mind by experiences of the beautiful scenes and interesting activities of foreign lands. His breadth of vision, his love of beauty and his cosmopolitanism were perhaps aptly symbolised in the wide and beautiful boulevard that bears his name in the garden city of Mysore.

He was also deeply interested in religious matters and it is significant that his last message to the people of Mysore and India delivered over the radio on the 12th of July 1939 and to the Congress of Faiths delivered in London shortly before he left England were both messages urging for tolerance, unity and spiritual understanding.

"Let us therefore work for a common understanding between two great sister communities—the Hindus and the Mussalmans—which is so essential for India's political and economic regeneration. Let us try to remember that these and other religions are alike in all fundamentals and that the differences, if any, pertaining only to matters such as external forms, rituals and ceremonies, which are comparatively of little consequence in enabling an individual to lead a pure, devotional and spiritual life. We must not forget that different religions are needed to suit different temperaments. They are like the notes of some rich chord of harmony, or like the various colours of a rainbow arising out of the common white light, so that all the religions together speak out the one truth of God, and in their many syllables the one divine name is heard.

"We are at the dawn of a new era and of the renaissance of the ancient glory and culture of our motherland. Let us therefore consecrate ourselves to a life of harmony, good-will and understanding, full of faith in religious tolerance and unity, and go forward, with zeal and courage, to secure, as equal partners in the British Commonwealth, our rightful place among the great nations of the world, for the lasting benefit of humanity."

Thus in the prime of life passed away the heir to the Throne of Mysore, a unique and dynamic personality hard to replace, a person of generous impulses and wide sympathies, an ardent advocate of enlightened progress, a prince of ripe experience, deep knowledge and unrivalled personal influence in the country.

May His soul rest in peace.

S. Srikantaya.

The
Quarterly Journal
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Mythic Society

Vol. XXX] APRIL, 1940 [No. 4

PALLAVA PERUÑJIṄGA AND THE YĀDAVAS

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

An inscription from Ākkūr[1] in the Māyavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District, belongs to the reign of Sakalabhuvana-cakravartin Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and furnishes us interesting historical information. Unfortunately the record is not dated. It states that during the regime of Kōpperuñjiṅga, a certain Aḻagiyapallavaṉ *alias* Vīrapratāpa, who had kept the Hoysaḷas in confinement and levied tribute from the Pāṇḍyas,[2] returned to the Cōḻa country and went along the southern bank of the Kāvēri towards the east visiting all the sacred places. He made lands tax-free. In one instance where the whole village (name lost) in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam was deserted by its inhabitants on account of very heavy taxation and persons had repaired to places in the Gangetic region, the

1 No. 229 of 1925.

2 It will be clear from the sequel that these were the Pāṇḍyas of Gutti and that they ought not to be confused with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura.

general made alterations in the system, redistributed the lands, marking new boundaries and demarcations and thus by putting an end to the grave injustice, made the village thrive again. From the contents of the above record it would be apparent that acts of public good were done by him, when he (Aḻagiyapallavaṉ *alias* Vīrapratāpa) went on pilgrimage to all the sacred places that lay to the south of the river Kāvēri, after his conquest of the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The interest lies more in the fact that the record belongs to the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga. Aḻagiyapallavaṉ *alias* Vīrapratāpa was either a subordinate of the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, or at worst, was in friendly relations with him; else it is inexplicable why he should have the name Aḻagiyapallavaṉ, one of the surnames of Kōpperuñjiṅga,[3] and why the record should be dated in the reign of Peruñjiṅga. Though nothing is stated about the vanquisher of the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas, yet his name is suggestive of one fact. The first part of his name is indicative of his subordination or friendship to the Kāḍavas and the second *alias* name Vīrapratāpa is at once an indication that he must be either a royal personage belonging to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, or a viceroy sent by them. Again, from the fact that the inscription gives out the king's name with the title Sakalabhuvanacakravartin, it is pretty certain that the pilgrimage of Aḻagiyapallavaṉ *alias* Vīrapratāpa, is an event that should have been completed a year or two after A.D. 1243,[4] when Kōpperuñjiṅga is definitely known to have declared independence and crowned himself as king with the above-noted title. Further the inscription lets us know that the pilgrimage to all the sacred places to the south of the Kāvēri, was an action launched upon after the conquest of the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas. As such the historic events should have taken place some years prior to A.D. 1243. Now let us see whether the history as revealed by the records, of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and of the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra unfolds any event corroborating

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[3] Nos. 170 of 1918, 487 of 1921 and 221 of 1934–5.

[4] His accession is placed in A.D. 1243, between fourth February, and thirtieth July, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 165.

the information supplied by the Ākkūr record noted above. The Hoysaḷas are well known as the bitter foes of the Yādavas. The Hoysaḷa king Vīrasōmēśvara (A.D. 1234–57), the son and successor of Nārasiṁha II (A.D. 1224–33) claims to have fought against the famous Kṛṣṇa Kandhara, who is no other than the contemporary Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (A.D. 1247–60). The date of the inscription giving out this achievement is A.D. 1233,[5] which fact makes it clear that it was one that was effected by Vīrasōmēśvara, in the last year of his father's reign. We know that Kṛṣṇa, the grandson of Śiṅghaṇa, succeeded Śiṅghaṇa only in about A.D. 1247 and this war of A.D. 1233 should have happened when he must have been fighting under the standard of his grandfather. The records of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri at this time reveal another information.[6] Paramabhaṭṭāraka Pratāpa Cakravartin Śiṅghaṇa,[7] who was the son of Jaitugi I, succeeded on the throne of the Yādavarāyas, probably in A.D. 1205–6.[8] One among the Daṇḍanāyakas that served under him was the Daṇḍanāyaka Vīcaṇa who was also called Bīca, Bīcidēva, or Bīcirāya.[9] He was the viceroy for the southern part of the kingdom and figures in

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[5] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 508.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 524.

[7] He calls himself Dvarāvati Puravarādhīśvara, 'the sun to open out into full bloom the lotus bud of the Yādava dynasty', and a Rāyanārāyaṇa, *A.R.*, 1925, 6, p. 95.

[8] No. 498 of 1915 is a record of Śiṅghana dated in his sixth year and it is stated to correspond to Pramōdūtha, *i.e.*, Pramōda A.D. 1210. This gives him the initial date A.D. 1205–6. This sixth year record states that the king was then ruling 'after having acquired the whole earth (by conquest)'. See *A.R.*, 1916, p. 133, para 46.

[9] He was also called Bīci Śrēshṭi, or Bīci Śeṭṭi. No. 426 of 1926. Bīcirāya is mentioned in C.P. No. 4 of 1926 and is spoken of as a subordinate under Śinghaṇa (*Śiṅghaṇakshmāpādapadmōpajīvaka*). Bīcirāya's son-in-law was Malli Śeṭṭi who became the Governor under the Yādava king Śinghaṇa (*Ibid.*), and the Commander-in-chief of the king's forces under Kanharadēva, the grandson and successor of Śinghaṇa (No. 426 of 1926). The last record is dated in Kanharadēva's third year.

a record of A.D. 1238 from Haraḷahaḷḷi.[10] From it is known that 'the subjugation of the central, western and south-western portions of what had been the Western Cāḷukya dominions was effected by Daṇḍanāyaka Vīcaṇa' Śiṅghaṇa's viceroy of the southern part of the kingdom. He reduced 'the Raṭṭas of Soundatti and the Kadambas of Gōa'. He was also employed 'more to the south and south-east, against the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of Gutti in the Noḷambavāḍi province'. 'He claims to have carried his invasion so far as to set up a pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvēri.' The Hoysaḷa dynasty was the principal rival of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. From a consideration of the facts noted above it appears that there is not much doubt as to the veracity of the statements. It seems that after Vīrasōmēśvara's fight with the Yādava Kṛṣṇa Kandhara and as a necessary consequence of the same, the viceroy Vīcaṇa had to make war with the Hoysaḷas. The two families were enemical to each other and when the Hoysaḷas had tried their skill with the Yādava Kṛṣṇa, it remained for them to make an invasion of the enemy's country. This they did and with success. The Hoysaḷa king was none other than Vīrasōmēśvara. The general or viceroy Vīcaṇa was employed against the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas of Gutti, and he did not stop with these achievements. He carried his invasion so far as to set up a pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of Kāvēri. We have already noted that Aḷagiyapallavaṉ *alias* Vīrapratāpa was a Yādava representative, and from the foregoing, we are made to think that he and Daṇḍanāyaka Vīchaṇa are identical. Such being the case all the achievements noted above are not mere boasts, and a striking confirmation is supplied by the Ākkūr record, which document is doubtless later in point of time to the achievements of the Yādava general. The fact related by the Ākkūr record that Vīrapratāpa made it a point to visit all the places of pilgrimage that lay to the south of the river Kāvēri, is an

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[10] *Jor. B. B. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. XV, p. 383 ff.; and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 524.

indirect confirmation of his carrying his invasion southwards and setting up a pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvēri, as reported by the Haraḷahaḷḷi record. These heroic achievements of the viceroy of Śinghaṇa must have been accomplished in about A.D. 1238, which is the date of the Yādava record. We have thus seen that the pilgrimage of the Yādava viceroy in the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga, and his making meritorious gifts and the like, are conclusive evidences to the friendly relationship of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri to the Pallavas, and it could have also been possible that the Kāḍava ally might have rendered some help in the conquest of the Hoysaḷas, who were also his enemies.[11] The Sanskrit portion at the end of the Brahmadēśam incription[12] of the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Sakalabhuvanacakravartin Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva which is in verse, states that Vīrapratāpa Bhuvanaikavīra instituted a festival on the day of Śravaṇa[13] the service (*Śandi*) called after him to the goddess Pārvatī. This addition in the record of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, is a striking evidence to the continued friendliness of the Yādavas from or before A.D. 1238 to A.D. 1260, or presumably later.

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[11] That Kōpperuñjiṅga was very active in becoming independent and performed acts of valour and strength at this period is well known. In 1230 he was a friend of the Cōḷa king but an year later he had imprisoned him, and the Hoysalas intervening on the Cōḷa's behalf rescued him from the Sendamangalam prison, and in A.D. 1243 he established his independence.

[12] No. 170 of 1918.

[13] *Ibid.*

A MODERN MALAYĀḶAM TENSE-FORM

with -ēṉē in Unrealised Past Conditional Constructions

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.
(*Maharaja's College, Ernakulam*)

I

IN modern Malayāḷam* (both literary and colloquial) there is a tense-form of the type of *ceydēṉē*[1] which is used for all persons and numbers in the apodosis (or consequence-clause) of unrealized or unfulfilled past conditional constructions.[2]

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* In my transliteration of Tamil and Malayāḷam passages here, I have for convenience' sake used only the symbol *u* alike for the Tam. and Mal. lip-rounded back *u* and for the Tam. lip-normal *u* and the Mal. sound corresponding to this *u*.

Further, even when the initial voiceless plosives of Tamil and Mal. words are, in sentence-sandhi (within breath-groups in prose and within verse-units or verse-divisions in poetry), preceded by nasals or by vowels of words preceding, I transliterate such plosives only with the symbols for the *voiceless* plosives, since in such contexts there is hardly any appreciable voicing of the plosive sounds (except in very intimate compounds and phrasal sequences), the absence of voicing being due to the protective influence of the initial accent which continues to exist even within breath-groups, in however small a degree it may be.

It may also be observed here that instances like *taṅ tāy* (*tam* + *tāy*) where *t* of *tāy* largely remains unvoiced, beside *taṅdāy* " thou gavest " show that voiceless plosives and the corresponding voiced plosives may have to be regarded in Tamil as distinctive phonemes requiring separate symbolic representation.

[1] Dialectally, instead of *-ēṉē*, some of the Travancore colloquials have *-ēṉam* (as in *vaṅṅēṉam* ' would have come ') (*Mal. Grammar* by Mathan, p. 165), while *-ēṉāyiruṅṅu* appears in some of the northern colloquials (*Mal. Grammar* by Gundert, p. 283).

[2] Besides this type constituted of the past stem followed by *-ēṉē*, other tense-forms are also used in Mal. to convey the same force in the consequence-clauses of unfulfilled past conditional constructions:—(1) the type of *ceyyum-āyiruṅṅu*; (2) the type of *ceyd-ir-ikkum*; and rarely (3) *ceyga-y-āyiruṅṅu*. The last-mentioned

The tense-form with *-ēṉē* (used for all persons and numbers) appears only in New Mal. texts :—

ēdāṉum yāciccu-v-eṅgil acyutaṉ dānañ ceydēṉē (Bh. Bh,[3] II, p. 125).

paṅktikaṇṭhaṉ virōdham paṟaññeṅgil laṅkayōḍu paṟicc-iṅṅu koṇḍaṅṅu taṅṅēṉē (Irupatt. Rām., 9, 28).

....*kuṟavu bhaviccēṉē* (Tuḷḷ., p. 92).

ārāṉuṅ kaṇḍeṅgil eṉikk-orupōrāymakk-orupēr-āyēṉē (Tuḷḷ., p. 148).

arthicceṅgil ārttapārijātam eṉḏe dāridryaṅ tīrtt-ayaccēṉē (Kucēlavṛttam Vañjippāṭṭə, line 159).

This tense-form with *-ēṉē* has not been satisfactorily explained. Gundert's suggestion (*Mal. Grammar*, p. 283) that *-ēṉē* may have been connected with the infinitive of the verb-base *eṉ-* ' to say ', —a suggestion that is repeated by Śēṣagiri Prabhu in his Vyākaraṇamitram (p. 166)—has absolutely nothing to support it. Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam does not deal with the origin of the form.

In my EMM (p. 108) I left this form unexplained owing to the fact that linguistic data relating to Old Mal. constructions of this type were not available at the time when I wrote that work.

The recently published Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam prose, which has appeared as Number 8 of the Śrīcitrōdayamañjarībhāṣā-granthāvali series,—a work which is at least as old as the fifteenth century—contains certain forms which shed a flood of light on the origin and history of the tense-form with *ēṉē*.

II

These forms are the following :—

1. (*ñāṉ*) *yātra-y-ākkiyēṉ-ē-y-um* 'I would have sent (Rāvaṇa) away ' in *ā āṉum-oruttaṉ...vaṅṅu collugil appoḻudu irāvaṇaṉe aḻiccuviṭṭu yātrayākkiyēṉēyum* (p. 43).

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type is only occasionally heard in the conditional constructions under reference.

[3] The abbreviations used in this essay of the names of Malayāḷam works are the same as those in my "Evolution of Mal. Morphology".

2. (*ñāṉ*) *ṅarakattil vīṇupōyēṉ-ē-y-um* 'I would have fallen into hell' in *ṅī piḍāvu coṉṉadu kēḷāḷññudāgil*. . .*ñāṉ naraḳattil vīṇupōyēṉēyum* (p. 64).

3. (*ṅī*) *ṅarakattil vīṇu muḍiññāy-ē-y-um* (p. 65) 'thou wouldst have fallen into the perdition of hell'.

4. (*enikku*) *kāmānubhavam ceyy-āyid-ē-y-um* (p. 60) 'the pleasures of love would have fallen to my lot', where *āyidu* may be regarded as the predicate of the infinitive *ceyy*(*a*).

The forms (*ñāṉ*) *yātra-y-ākkiyēṉ-ē-y-um*,
(*ñāṉ*) *vīṇu-pōyēṉ-ē-y-um*,
(*ṅī*) *muḍiññāy-ē-y-um*
(*ceyy-*) *āyiḍ-ē-y-um*

are the past finites (used with the "conditional past" signification in the apodosis of unrealized conditional constructions of the past), which show concord of person and number with their respective subjects. In these instances, *ē* and *um* following the past forms are iḍaiccol elements, and the *y* coming between is the front intervocal glide.

When now one considers the Kṛṣṇagātha instance *vaṅṅāṉ-um* '(he) would have come' (in *ṅaṉmaṇi kūḍādē pōyāgil vaṅṅāṉum*, for which see below)—a third person rational singular past finite—it would be clear that Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇam prose and Kṛṣṇagātha taken together furnish a set of past finites (with the "conditional past" meanings) embodying personal endings of the first, second and third (both "rational" and "non-rational") persons. That the employment of the *past finites* was the method by which the idea of the apodosis of such unrealized conditional constructions of the past was brought out would be clear also from other illustrations given in III below.

The fact that *-ēṉ*(*-ē*) in the first two instances cited from Brahm. is the first person singular 'personal ending' makes me suggest that the *ēṉē* used to-day may have been due to the uniform use, for all numbers and persons, of the first personal ending of the tense-form (followed by the iḍaiccol *ē*). This may have happened during the period of the disintegration in Mal.

of personal endings of tense-forms; the original function of the first personal ending of the tense-form may have been forgotten, and the "conditional past" meaning may have been permanently associated with *ēṉē*.

III

The use of the past finites in the apodosis of conditional constructions (whether relating to an unfulfilled past condition or to a future one) is not at all rare in Malayaḷam. The use of the past finite in the consequence-clause of a future conditional construction is attested in old texts and in modern colloquials, while the use of the past finites (with and without personal endings) in the apodosis of unfulfilled past conditional constructions is met with in texts like Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam prose and Kṛṣṇagātha, the modern "descendant" of the latter type being the tense-form with *-ēṉē* (used uniformly for all persons).

I cite below illustrations for both these categories of the use of the past finites in conditional constructions. It will be seen that Kṛṣṇagātha has instances belonging to both categories, *i.e.*, past finites used in future conditional constructions as well as those used in unrealized conditional constructions of the past. The relationship of these two categories is very close; and indeed at least one of the illustrations from Kṛṣṇagātha cited below for the use of the past finite in future conditions might very well be regarded as a "transitional" instance.

A

Past Finites Used for Future

1. *prābhṛtamāyiṭṭu vaccu koḍukkil eṉ prābhavam ēṯṯavum uṇḍāyidum* (Vatsastēyam, lines 251 and 252) 'If I place him (*i.e.*, the boy Kṛṣṇa) before my master as a royal present, power and majesty will certainly enure to me to the greatest extent.' (*uṇḍ-*)*āyid*[4]-(*um*) is the past finite (followed by *-um*),

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[4] *-id*(ə) had already become a tense-expletive in Mal., used for all persons and numbers, in tense-forms where there were no personal endings.

agreeing with its subject *prābhavam*, and conveying the future meaning "will (certainly) fall (to me)," in spite of its being a past finite.

2. *en vāyilāyuḷḷa kaṅṅu kiḍākkaḷe kōllādē koṇḍāgil ṅaṅṅāyidum* (Vatsastēyam, lines 245 and 246) 'If I do not eat the cattle that are in my mouth, it will be good indeed.'

(*ṅaṅṅ*)-*āyid*-(*um*) is the past finite agreeing with the subject *adu* understood, and conveying the future meaning 'will be good indeed'.

3. *iṅṅidu ṅalgugil ṅaṅṅāyidum* (Khāṇḍvadāham, l. 166) 'If this is given to-day, it will be very good indeed' —(*ṅann*-) *āyid*-(*um*).

4. (*santōṣam*) *vaṅṅāvūdeṅṅē koḍiccuninṅāgilum inṅum uṇḍāyīla-y-annayōḷam* (Kucēlagati, lines 223 and 224). 'Such joy as we felt (in those days) will never fall (to us) to-day even if we desire eagerly for it'.—*uṇḍāyīla.*

5. *Kārmugilvarṇṇaṉe-k-kāṇunṅūd-āgil eṉ kāriyam ellāmē sādhiccūdum* (Saubhadrikakatha, lines 113 and 114). 'If I can see the lord possessing the complexion of dark clouds (*i.e.*, Lord Kṛṣṇa), all my desires will be fulfilled.'—*sādhiccūd*-(*um*).

6. *tōḷvaḷa kūḍugil ēṯṯam ṅiṟaṅṅūdum* (Rāsakrīḍa, II, l. 146) 'If the shoulder-bangle is worn, it will (certainly) shine brightly (and add to your splendour).'—*ṅiṟaṅṅūd*-(*um*). This, I think, is a transitional instance between A and B. The context does not make it clear whether the past or the future is referred to. In the absence of such indications, the illustration may be regarded as being of the "future-indeterminate" or "future-general" character.

7. *rāmaṉ tīyil padikkumō-v-eṅgil padiccū lakṣmaṇaṉ avaṉumunbē* (Kēraḷavarma Rām.) 'If Rāma falls into the fire, then Lakṣmaṇa will certainly fall into it before Rāma'. *padiccu* is the past finite (used for the future) agreeing with *Lakṣmaṇaṉ*.

8. *ṅiṉ kaṭākṣam eṉgal uṯṯupaṯṯum-āgilō kuṯṯam aṯṯu-ōpyidu* (citation in Gundert's *Mal. Grammar*, p. 190). 'If your

gracious glance is fixedly bestowed on me, all my faults will cease to exist.' (*aṯṯu-*) *pōyidu* is the past finite concerned, agreeing with its subject *kuṯṯam*.

9. Modern colloquial constructions like *ī kāṯṯattu vañji kāyalil pōyāl appōḷ muṅṅi* 'if the boat goes into the backwaters in this storm, it will surely capsize,' and *ṅiṅṅal vannāl ñāṉ ṅiṅṅaḷkk-uḍaṉē taṅṅu* 'if you come, I shall (certainly) give (it) to you' illustrate the use of the past for the future when immediacy and certainty of consequence are denoted.

B

Past Finites in the Apodosis of Unrealized Past Conditional Constructions

1. *āraṉuṅ kaṇḍāgil taṅṅaḷ-uṅṅ-ōrttiṭṭu vānarañ ceṅṅ-aṅṅu pūṇḍūduṅtāṉ* [Ulūkhalabandhanam, lines 465 and 466] 'If monkeys had seen the facial contortions of the men, the animals would have embraced them under the impression that these persons belonged to the class of monkeys.'

pūṇḍūd- (*-um*) is the past finite agreeing with *vānaram*; the *-ūd* is the tense-expletive of Mal.

2. *dānavarārēlum iṅṅaṉē ceydeṅgil dīnata-y-eṉṉuḷḷil vārāññidum* (Gōvardhanōddhāraṇam, lines 109 and 110) 'If it was any of the dānavas that had done thus, so much of distress would not have come to my mind.'

vārāññid-(*um*) 'would not have come.'

3. *māṟil eḻuṅṅoru cūḍillayāññāgil māṟādēvīṇoru kaṇṇu-nīrāl ṅīṟum-aṅṅārimār ṅiṅṅoru kānanam āṟāyippōyidu mellemelle* (Gōpikāduḥkam, II, lines 753 to 756) 'Had it not been for the heat produced by the grief of those women, the wood in which they moved about wailing, would have been converted into a stream by the tears that ceaselessly flowed from their eyes.'

(*āṟāyi-p-*) *pōyidu* 'would have been converted into a stream.'

4. *mānini taṉṉuḍe lōcanaṅ taṉṉōḍu ṅerottuṅiṅṅadum vārijaṅṅaḷ māṇbuṭṭuṅ ṅiṅoru rāveṅṅāṅ taṅṅaḷe kūmbādē-koḷḷuvāṉ vallumāgil* (Rugmiṇīsvayaṃvaram, lines 119 to 122)

'If the lotus-flowers had been able to remain without closing their petals throughout the glorious night, they would have resembled the eyes of the maiden.'

(*ṅēr-ottu-*) *ṅiṅṅ-ad-(um)* 'would have resembled.'

5. *ṅaṉmaṇi kūḍādē pōyāgil vaṅṅāṉum eṅṅoru ṅirṇayam uṇḍ-eṉikku* (Syamantakam, lines 69 and 70) 'There is a feeling of certainty in me that he would have come back if he had gone (from here) without the bright jewel.'

vaṅṅāṉ-(um) 'would have come back.'

6. ....*kaṇḍuḷḷōr ārāṉum uṇḍāyirunnāgil kaṇṇunīr iṅṅumē māṟāññidum* (Kucēlagati, lines 215 and 216). If there was anybody who witnessed the sorrowful happenings, his tears would never have ceased to be shed even to-day.'

māṟāññ-id-(um) 'would not have ceased (to flow).'

7. ....*yāciccu-ṅiṅṅāgil taṅṅūduṅ tāṉ* (Kucēlagati, l. 342) 'If I had begged (for a piece of cloth), he would have given (it to me).'

taṅṅ-ūd-(um) 'would have given.'

8. *cārattu ceṅṅu ñān yāciccuṅiṅṅāgil pūriccuṅiṅṅūdum vāñca-y-ellām* (Kucēlagati, lines 355 and 356) 'If I had entreated him, he would have satisfied all my desires.'

(*pūriccu*) *ṅiṅṅūd-(um)* 'would have satisfied.'[5]

IV

There is hardly any doubt that the types A and B in III are intimately connected. Indeed, as I have observed already,

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[5] The following construction appearing at p. 60 of Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇam prose belongs to a slightly different type:—*eṉṉekkāṇāḷññāl (eṉḏe bharttāvu) duḥkhattōḍu ṅiṉḏōṉ.* 'If my husband (came there and) failed to see me, he would have felt afflicted'. The context shows that the reference is to the past; but the condition involved is not an "unrealized" or "unfulfilled" one; for it is so slight from the point of view of the speaker that the element of "doubt" is at a minimum here.

The sentence may be susceptible of a "future-general" conditional meaning also, in which case it will come under A; but the context shows that it is the past that is referred to and that the speaker is practically sure that her husband in all likelihood failed to see her and did feel afflicted.

there is at least one instance in A which may apply to the future or the past according as the context regulates it.

It will be seen below (V) that the use of past finites (instead of future finites) in the apodosis of future conditional constructions is referred to in the Old Tam. grammar, Tolkāppiyam.

The rationale of the practice (both in the Mal. instances listed in III A above and in the contexts contemplated by Tolkāppiyam, for which see below) of referring to an action that is yet to happen as already having happened—a practice that departs definitely from the normal rule of using the future finites—has to be sought in the association of a certain degree of "certainty" with the action under reference.

So far as future conditional constructions are concerned, the use of past finites in the apodosis would indicate that if the condition mentioned in the protasis materialises, the action in the consequence-clause is bound to follow.

This "certainty", I think, is clearly associated with the past finites occurring in the illustrations collected together in A above. In the instances cited from Kṛṣṇagātha, the use of the iḍaiccol elements[6] like *-um* and *tāṉ* appears to have been intended to reinforce this idea of "certainty".

V

The use of past finites in the stead of future forms in the consequence-clauses of future conditional constructions which denote *iyaṟkai* 'course of nature' and *teḷivu* 'knowledge, experience' or 'verdict of experience' is as old as Tolkāppiyam.

[6] In the illustrations cited from Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam prose also, the iḍaiccol elements *ē* and *um* occur. Further in *-ēṉē* of modern Mal., the element *ē* has to be demarcated as having been originally the iḍaiccol *ē*.

The connotation of "certainty" appears to have been reinforced by the use of these elements originally in the constructions under reference.

To-day also the type of *ceydēṉē* involves a "certainty" of consequence, which is not implied in *ceyyumāyiruṅṅu* or *ceydirikkum*.

This is clear from the interpretation of the following *sūtra* in the vinai-y-iyal portion of Colladigāram :—

vārākkālattu vinaiccoṟkiḷavi yiṟappinu ṅigaḻvinuñ ciṟap-pattōnṟum iyaṟkaiyuṅ teḷivuṅ kiḷakkuṅkālai.

Iḷambūraṇar and Cēnāvaraiyar give the following illustrations[7] to illustrate the use of the past in the stead of the future, in contexts denoting iyaṟkai and teḷivu :—

iyaṟkai : *ikkāṭṭuṭ pōgiṟ kūṟai kōṭpaṭṭāṉ* 'if he goes inside this forest, he will surely be robbed of his clothes.'

teḷivu : *eṟumbu muṭṭaikoṇḍu teṭṭi-y-ēṟin maḻai peydadu* 'if the ants get up on the mound with their eggs, then it will surely rain.'

Ńannūl refers to this use[8] of the past for the future in a comprehensive sūtra in poduviyal beginning with the line *viraivinu migavinuṅ teḷivinum iyalpinum* ; and in the interpretation of *teḷivu* and *iyalpu*, Mailaiṅādar (the earliest commentator of Nannūl) agrees with the commentarians mentioned above.

The principle involved in the rule of the Tamil grammars prescribing the contexts (for the use of past finites instead of future finites) as īyaṟkai ' course of nature' and teḷivu ' experience ' or 'verdict of experience' is that the action under reference is so certain to happen that it may be referred to as already

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[7] Teyvaccilaiyār agrees with the other commentarians in illustrating iyaṟkai contexts ; but for teḷivu he gives the illustration (from Nālaḍi) *ceṉṟadu ceṉṟadu vaḻnāḷ ceṟutt-uḍaṉ vandadu vaṅdadu kūṯṯu.*

[8] There is another use of the past for the future common to all South Dravidian speeches :—

Tam.	*idō pōṅdēṉ* ' I shall come in a trice '.
Mal.	*idā vaṅnu*
Kann.	*bande(nu)*
Tel.	*idigō vasti(ni).*

This practice is also very ancient in as much as Tolkāppiyam refers to it in a special sūtra, and Nannūl also adverts to it ; further this practice is quite common in the colloquial of to-day. The contexts contemplated are those involving *viraivu* ' haste or celerity '.

having happened. Fundamentally, then, the rationale of the practice in the Mal. instances in III A above and that referred to in the Tam. grammars is the same.

VI

Malayāḷam alone[9] among the South Dravidian speeches employs the simple past finites in the apodosis of unfulfilled past conditional constructions.

The history of this use of the past finite will have now become clear from the foregoing discussion. The main points may be summed up here.

1. While the use of past finites in the stead of the future in future conditional constructions where a certain degree of ‘certainty’ is involved, may be presumed to have been a characteristic feature of the ‘parent-speech’ of Mal. in view of the existence of this practice in all stages of Mal. and in Old and Middle Tamil, the use of the past finite with a ‘conditional past’ meaning in unfulfilled conditional constructions of the past is unique in Mal.; and this practice is met with in Kṛṣṇagātha and in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam prose.

In the instances available in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam prose and in at least one instance of Kṛṣṇagātha, the past finite forms embody personal endings corresponding to their respective subjects; and these personal endings are followed by the iḍaiccol element *ē*, or by *ē* followed by *um*, or by *um* alone.

2. In view of the fact that the past finites were employed regularly in Old Mal. in the conditional constructions under reference, and further in view of the fact that *ēn̠* (-*ē*) was the first person singular ending of the past finites in Old Mal.

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[9] Tamil, Kann. and Tuḷu generally employ the so-called "conditional perfect" tense which is structurally the same as the "future perfect" constituted of the past stem and the future finite of *ir*-.

Mal., as already noted, uses this type also.

Kannaḍa employs, besides this type, another one constituted of the present stem and the future finite of *ir*-.

Telugu uses *taddharmārthaka* tense-forms in such conditional constructions.

(Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam), it is reasonable to infer that the first person singular personal ending *ēṉ* (followed by *-ē*) was at a certain stage in the evolution of New Mal. uniformly and consistently used for *all persons* in such unrealized past conditional constructions, the origin and function of this personal ending *-ēṉ* having been forgotten as a result of the disintegration in Mal. of personal endings for verb-finites.

SYNOPSIS

Zend Avesta and *Atharva Veda*

The Parsis and *Zend Avesta*.
Affinity between the *Avesta* and the *Veda*.
The importance of the *Gāthas*.
Ahura (Asura) opposed to Sura (Deva).
Sapta-Sindhu, the battlefield of the Devas and Asuras.
Ahura Mazda *vs*. Angra Mainyu (Indra).
Both used Soma (Haoma).
Sōma worshipped as God by both.
Zend Avesta and *Atharva Veda*.
Ahura-Mazda and Atharvan (Priest).
Ahura Mazda and Al-Magid in the *Qurān*.
Origin of the *Gāthas*.
Varuṇa worshipped by Atharvan and Ahura.
Fight between Atharvan and Ahura (Asura) over Varuṇa's cow.
Zaotra (Holy Water) of *Avesta* and *Cānti-Udaka* of *Atharva Veda*.
Fire—discovered by Atharvan, son of Ahura Mazda.
Gāthas—the common literature of the followers of Atharvan and Ahura Mazda.
Only three classes mentioned in *Gāthas* and *Atharva Veda*.
Zarathūṣtra—an Atharvan.
Ahura Mazda (Ahu-Ratu), *cf*. Rāhu, Kētu—Asura Planets.
Zarathūṣtra, *cf*., *Tvastr*. (Vedic).
Importance of water to both the followers of Zarathūṣtra and Atharvan.
Westward march of the Asuras, followers of Ahura Mazda.
Atharvan or Athravan, *cf*., Adhvaryu.

ZEND AVESTA AND *ATHARVA VEDA**

BY N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

I

PROFESSOR JAMES DARMESTETER in his *Introduction to Zend Avesta*, "Sacred Books of the East", Vol. IV, says that the *Zend Avesta* is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Muhammad overthrew the Sassanian Dynasty (642 A.C.). In less than a century after their defeat, most of the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those, who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzarat. There they thrive and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away.

The form of faith that is found in the *Zend Avesta* is thus described by Professor Darmesteter. As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. They present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud and the *Qurān*. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Muhammad. The religion that is contained in the

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* Paper read at the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, in December 1933.

Zend Avesta has been thus succinctly described by Professor Darmesteter. It is Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet or its supreme God (Ahura Mazda), or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view.

Professor Darmesteter further on says that the deeper one penetrated into the oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the *Avesta* words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the *Avesta* received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian Ṛṣis, and the long forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the *Vedas*. . . . The *Avesta* and the *Veda* are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought. The *Vedas*, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the *Avesta*.

"Roth showed after Burnouf," says Darmesteter (p. xxx), "how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of the Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme God of the Vedic Age." Later on (p. lii) he says, "In fact Zoroastrianism has much in common with the Vedic pantheon; its supreme God, Ahura Mazda, is not more different from the great Asura, Varuṇa, than Zeus from Jupiter; the Zoroastrian Apollo, Mithra, answers exactly to the Vedic Mitra. The worship is centred on both sides around the sacred plant (Soma—Homa) and the sacred fire (Agni—Atar). The mythological struggle between the God of the Lightning, Indra, and the serpent Ahi is transferred to Atar (The Fire) and Agi. Yama, son of Vivasvat, and Traitana revive in Yima, son of Vivanghant, and Thraetaona." But these analogies are not considered sufficient, in the opinion of Darmesteter, to lead to the conclusion that "Zoroaster's religion was born in an Indo-Iranian period, from a moral reaction against Vedic polytheism, which sent to hell the

former gods," for, says he, "there is not the slightest evidence or symptom of any such inner upheaval, rejecting a Vedic or quasi-Vedic religion, as was supposed to have taken place in prehistoric periods." But Haug held the opinion (p. xxxi) that Mazdeism was a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism.

In the opinion of Mr. L. H. Mills, the translator of *Gāthas*, etc. (*Zend Avesta*, Part III, "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI), the *Gāthas* are 'the oldest portion of the *Avesta*', while the *Avesta* or *Zend*[1] *Avesta* 'the Law with its traditional and revealed explanation' (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxi) represents a later period in the history of the religion of Zarathūṣtra. Mr. Mills says, "In the *Gāthas* all is sober and real"; "all the action is made up of the exertions and passions of living and suffering men; let the Zondist," says he, "study the *Gāthas* well, and then let him turn to the Yasts and Vendidad; he will go from the land of reality to the land of fable."

II

The literature contained in *Zend Avesta* (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI) falls into three portions—the *Gāthas*, the *Yasnas* and the *Visparads*, etc. A close and careful study of the matter shows that the *Yasnas*, I to LXXI (pp. 195–332) read like the main ritualistic text, corresponding to the *Saṁhita* of the Vedic texts. Mr. Mills calls the *Yasna* (*cf.* Skt. *Yajña*), 'the chief liturgy of the Zarathūṣtrians'. It begins with the announcement of the *Yasna* (*Yajña* or Sacrifice) to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful, the most firm, the wisest, and the one of all whose body is the most perfect, who Attains His End the most infallibly, because of His Righteous Order, to Him who disposes our minds aright, who sends His joy-creating

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[1] Cf. *T.S.*, VI. iv. 10. Canda and Marka were the purohits of the Asuras. Cf. *T.B.*, I. i. 1. Sāyaṇa's Commentary—Canda—enemy of Adhvaryu (Athravan). Canda and Marka are referred to in *T.S.*, I. iv. 8 and 9. In *Bhāgavata*, VII. 5, they are said to have been the sons of Śukra. They taught Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu.

grace afar; who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bounteous Spirit (*Yasna*, I. i). The *Yasna* then enumerates all the lords to whom the sacrifice is rendered in detail. Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Lord of the religion of Zoroaster, called 'the Great-Creator, the Living Lord' (*Gāthas—Yasna*, XXXII, p. 57) is thus commented on by Mr. Mills ("Introduction," *S.B.E.*, p. xxxii) "As the Asura (Ahura) worship extended into India with the Indians as they migrated from Iran, a form of Asura worship arose in Iran which added the name of Mazda to the original term for God." Ahura or Asura appears to have been inimical to Deva or Sura, as we see from the Indian Vedic literature. *Yasna*, I, 12–13 read thus:—

"And I announce and complete my *Yasna* to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to all the waters made by Mazda, and to all the plants which Mazda made."

"And I announce and complete (my *Yasna*) to the Bounteous Mathra, the holy and effective, the revelation given against the Devas; the Zarathūṣtrian revelation, and the long descent of the good Mazda-Yasnian Faith."

These verses seem undoubtedly to point to a time when the people who sacrificed to the Daevas were opposed by those who sacrificed to Ahura (Asura). Mr. Mills says ("Introduction," *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. xxviii,) that the scene of the *Gāthic* and original Zarathūṣtrianism was the North-East of Iran, and the later *Avesta* was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathūṣtrian tribes were migrating westward in Media." Again he says on p. xxxiii, that the appearance of a later Zarathūṣtrianism in th west is not a sufficient reason for doubting that the founder of the system laboured nearer the land of the Vedas, where a Vistaspa once ruled, where a Daeva-worship long lingered, and where the common names of the Irano-Indian gods were heard as household words, and which was precisely the place where we should suppose the Indo-Āryans to have left the Irano-Āryans, as they descended into the Punjab.

III

In *Vendidad*—Fargard I—which enumerates "sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda" and "as many plagues created in opposition by Aṅgra Mainyu", the fifteenth land mentioned is Hapta Hindava—Sapta-Sindhu, the land of the Seven Rivers; and the sixteenth is the land by the sources of the Rangha. Rangha is identified with Tigris (Rangha-Arvand-Tigris, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, *Note*, p. 9) [Rangha seems to me to stand for Ganga, Skt. ग (G) र (R); *cf.*, *Pahlavi*, I (G) T (R)] which is the nearest and the most important of the river system of Sapta-Sindhu. The Fargard says that in each of the sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda, Angra Mainyu created trouble to the followers of Ahura Mazda. This sort of continuous warfare between the Devas and the Asuras is frequently adverted to in the Vedic literature.[2] It may then be taken that originally in the region of Sapta-Sindhu and Ganga began a long-standing and huge struggle for supremacy between the followers of Daeva and of Asura.

Who was this Aṅgra Mainyu who is described as the one great enemy of Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda is "the Great Creator, the Living Lord" (*Gāthas—Yasna*, XXXII, 1; *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 57) and Aṅgra Mainyu is the Evil Spirit (*Yasna*, IX, S.P. 233, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI). *Yasna*, LVII (*ibid.*, p. 297), says that Sraeṣa, whose body is the Matra (*viz.*, welfare and immortality, *ibid.*, p. 43) is worshipped 'to hew down Aṅgra Mainyu, the wicked' (XII, p. 305). *Yasna*, XXVIII, 1 says that Ahuṇa (*cf.*, Vedic, Aruṇa) Vairya is recited 'to smite the wicked Aṅgra Mainyu, to smite Aeṣma of the bloody spear, the Mazainya Daevas and all the wicked Varēṇya Daevas.'[3] In *Taittirīya Saṁhita*, IV, vi. 4, what is known as the *Apratiratha* hymn,

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[2] See "Devas and Asuras," *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 28–39.

[3] *Cf.* Gāyatrī which, according to Vedic legend, is uttered for the destruction of demons known as Mandca-Aruṇis. The word *Vareṇya* occurs in the *Gāyatrī* (*The Hymn of Aruṇa*, XI, by N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu).

we are told that Indra with wrath a hundredfold *Sata-manyur-indraha* (*Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 19, p. 370) was the hero who fought against the Asuras ; and we are told in *T.S.*, V. iv. 6, that " the Gods and the Asuras were in conflict ; the Gods saw the unassailable hymn (*Apratiratha*) and with it they conquered the Asuras" (*H.O.R.*, Vol. 19, p. 433) (see *Note* 1 at end). Aṅgra Mainyu then must be the wrathful Indra. Vedic Mythology makes Indra, the Great and the ever-vigilant enemy of the Asuras.

Vedic Mythology makes Indra drink the Soma juice and fight terribly against the Asuras. The Asuras also used ' the yellow Haoma (Soma) in the iron mortar ' (*Visparad*, XI, 2 ; *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 350). In V. Tahmuras' Fragments—XXIX (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 289) we read :—

> " Take of the Haoma, O Zarathūṣtra twice or thrice ; but the third time be sparing."

While Haoma and its juice are often referred to in the *Yasnas*, Haoma is referred to as a God in *Yasna*, VIII, 9, " Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness for sacrifice, homage, propitiation and for praise. In *Yasna*, LVII–LVIII, 19 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 302) we read that Hoama worshipped Sraeṣa, the blessed, on the highest height of the high Haraiti. In *Yasnas*, IX–X–XI (Hoama-Yast) we find references to Hoama as God and as a plant. As a plant it is called " Yellow Hoama " which grows ' on the mountains, apart on many paths ' [*cf. Tait. Sam.*, VI. i. 6, " He buys with a muddy yellow-eyed one. This is the form of Soma " (*H. O. S.*, Vol. 19, p. 494)] while Hoama is invoked as the ' House-lord, clan-lord, tribe-lord ,chieftain of the land and successful learned teacher ' (p. 238). In this conception of Hoama (Soma) as a plant which gave vigour and victory with its juice and as a God who looked after the welfare of the tribe, the *Zend Avesta* and the *Atharva Veda* are in agreement. Soma or Hoama was the great God (same as Candra or the Moon) who, through the pressed juice of the plant Hoama or Soma, gave victory over enemies and peace and blessing to the early tribes who were ' chiefly agriculturists and herdsmen ' (" Introduction," *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI,

p. xxi). The followers of the religion of sacrifices and oblations to the Deities as expounded in the *Zend Avesta*, particularly in the *Gāthas*, *Yasnas* and *Visparads* seem to have led simple agricultural and pastoral lives, even like the followers of the rituals embodied in the *Atharva Veda*.

IV

Ahura Mazda (Asura-Hero) was constantly at war with Aṅgra Mainyu. In *Vendidad*—Fargard, XIX, VI, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 224, we are told that Aṅgra Mainyu was 'the deadly, the Daeva of the Daevas', while Indra, Saura, etc., are spoken of as Daevas. Aṅgra Mainyu must, therefore, have been the first Indra or Mahendra who fought pitched battles against the great Asuras of the first Vedic period [*cf. T.S.*, VI, v. 5, when Indra slew Vitra, the gods hailed him as *Mahendra*, the chief of the deities. Ahuna Vairya (*cf. Aruṇa*) and Airyoma-iṣyo (*cf.* Aryaman—Sūrya) were recited against Aṅgra Mainyu (*Yasna*, LXI and Miscellaneous Fragments, IV, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 312 and 390)]. In the latter, Ahura Mazda says:—

1. I proclaim the Airyoma-iṣyo as the greatest of all authoritative prayers (*Vendidad*—Fargard, XXI–VI, 20, 21, 22, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV).

2. I am speaking in accordance with it, O Spitama, and, therefore, I shall rule as sovereign over creatures which are mine, I who am Ahura Mazda. Let no one rule as Aṅgra Mainyu over realms that are his own, O Zarathūṣtra Spitama.

3. Let Aṅgra Mainyu be hid beneath the earth.[4]

[*Atharva Veda*, XIX, 68 and 72, says that the followers of *Atharva Veda* used to take out their Vedic text from a hole

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[4] Ardibehist (Aṣa Vahista) II says, "The Airyaman prayer smites down the strength of all the creatures of Aṅgra Mainyu, of the Yatus and Pairikas. It is the greatest of spells, the best of spells, the very fairest of all spells; the fearful one amongst spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious one amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best healing of all spells."

under the earth each day, perform their rituals and place it back in the receptacle under the earth. Was it out of the fear that Ahura Mazda and His followers would take it away ?]

How do the followers of Ahura Mazda speak of Atharvan and his followers ?

Ormazd Yast, I, 7 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 25) says :—

" My twelfth name is *Ahura* (the Lord).

My twentieth name is *Mazda* (the All-knowing one) (*cf.* forty-eighth and eighty-fifth attributes of God, according to Islam is—Al-magid, the Glorious—The *Qurān*. *S.B.E.*, Vol. VI, p. lxvii.)[5]]

Again *Ormazd Yast*—12, says :—

My name is the *Athravan* ; my name is the most Athravan-like of all Athravans.

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[5] *Note.*—E. H. Palmer says in his Introduction to his translation of the *Qurān*, *ibid.*, p. lxviii, that the formula " In the name of the merciful and compasionate God " with which every chapter but one of the *Qurān* begins appears to have been adopted from the Persian Zoroastrian phrase, " Benam i Yozdan i bahsayigar dadar," " In the name of God the merciful, the just "; the later Parsee form " Benam i hudvandi bahsayendabah bahsayisgar " is the exact equivalent of the Muhammadan phrase. It appears as if the Monotheistic creed of Muhammad was a reaction against the creed of Zoroaster, which must have become unsuitable to the Master-mind of the Arab Prophet, at a time when the influence of Judaism and Christianity had altered the religious outlook of the people who had long left the regions of Zoroaster and his religious atmosphere.

" The mission of Muhammad," says Mr. Palmer (p. xlix), " appealed forcibly to the Arabs on many grounds. Compared with the prevalent idolatry of the time, the idea as presented was so grand, so simple, and so true, that reason could scarcely hesitate between the two systems,.... Side by side with the religions of the Jews and the Christians,—it appeared more spiritual and more divine, and presented the truths of both religions without the blemishes." " The essence of Muhammadanism is its assertion of the unity of God, as opposed to polytheism and even to trinitarianism. Muhammad certainly wished his religion to be looked upon as a further fulfilment of Christianity, just as Christianity is the fulfilment of Judaism. The course of reilgious evolution might be represented to have been—Zoroastrianism—Judaism—Christianity—Muhammadanism.

From VI—*Erpatistan* and *Nirangistan* (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, pp. 304–05) we learn that *Athravan* meant *Priest.*

Vendidad—Fargard, XVIII (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 193) says :—

"Him thou shalt call an Athravan, O holy Zarathūṣtra" who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy wisdom, which makes man free from anxiety, and wide of heart, and easy of conscience at the head of the Kinvat bridge, and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world of Paradise.

Any one else, says Ahura Mazda, lies when he says that he is an Athravan.

Again Ahura Mazda says in answer to the question of Zarathūṣtra, 'What is it that brings in the unseen power of Death?'

"It is the man that teaches a wrong religion; it is the man who continues for three springs without wearing the sacred girdle (Kosti, *cf.* Vedic, *Munji*), without chanting the *Gāthas*, without worshipping the Good Waters."

Every follower of Ahura Mazda must wear the Kosti round the waist, circumventing the waist three times, and the Sadara, or Sacred shirt over the body (*cf.* the Vedic *Munji* and the *Ajina*). He should chant the *Gāthas* and worship the Good Waters, to be a true Athravan.

It appears from VI—*Erpatistan* and *Nirangistan*—IV (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 323) that it was the duty of the Zaotar (*cf.* *Vedic Hoṭṛ*) to sing the *Gāthas* in the assemblies. The *Gāthas* are said by Mr. Mills to be the oldest portion of the *Avesta* (*ibid.*, "Introduction," *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. xxviii).

Atharva Veda, X, 10, 20 (*H.O.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 607) says that the *Gāthas* (songs) came from the mouth of the cow (*vaça*). The spotted milch-cow, well-milking with constant calf was given, says *Atharva Veda*, VII, 104 (*H.O.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 462) by Varuṇa to Atharvan. According to *Atharva Veda*, V, 11, it was the "self-ruling Varuṇa" that "generated father Atharvan connection of the Gods" (*H.O.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 239). In *T.S.*, V, v. 9, Indra is called the chief of the Gods and Varuṇa, their king (*H.O.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 449).

That both the followers of the Atharvan and Ahura (Asura) worshipped Varuṇa, appears from the unique Dialogue between Varuṇa and Atharvan (*A.V.*, V. 11) :—

1. How unto the great Asura didst thou speak here? How with shining manliness, unto the yellow father? having given, O Varuṇa! a spotted (Cow) as sacrificial fee, thou hast with the mind intended re-bestowal.

2. Not at pleasure am I a re-bestower; for do I drive home this spotted cow, by what poesy now, O Atharvan! (art) thou (poet) by what that is produced art thou Jātavedas?

The whole of that dialogue shows that there was a terrible fight over the Cow of Varuṇa between Atharvan and Asura (Ahura). In the last verse Atharvan claims to be the favourite of Varuṇa.

11. Since thou, O self-ruling Varuṇa! hast generated father Atharvan, connection of the gods, for him do thou make well-extolled generosity; our comrade art thou, and highest connection.

Professor Darmesteter says in his "Introduction" (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. xxx) that Roth held that Ahura Mazda was identical with Varuṇa and on p. lii, that Ahura Mazda is the same as Varuṇa. In I—Westergaard's Fragments, VII, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, the invocation appears :—

"To thee, O Ahurani (O Water), of Ahura!"

This section deals with the preparation of the holy water or Zaothra. Several hymns of the *Atharva Veda* are used for the preparation of the holy water or *Cānti-Udaka*, which is said to have very great power. This section in Westergaard's Fragments, giving the formulæ pronounced during the preparation of the holy water, may be compared with *A.V.*, I, 1–6.

According to Vedic mythology, Varuṇa is the God of Water, and he was the first god in the Vedic pantheon. *Devī Bhāgavata*, IX, 2, says that water first came out of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* (Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā) in union. Varuṇa and Vāruṇī were at once created. Varuṇa seems to have been the god worshipped by Atharvan and Ahura.

In the *Atharva Veda*, V. 11. 3, Atharvan, in his reply to Varuṇa, says that he is Jātavedas (Fire). In *Taittirīya Saṁhita*, IV, i. 3; V, i.4, we are told that Agni departed from the Gods; Atharvan perceived him; that Atharvan first pressed out Agni from the lotus, that he saw Agni reposing in the lotus leaf, and that Dadhyanc, son of Atharvan, first kindled fire (*H.O.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 460). According to this, Fire was claimed to belong to Atharvan. *Vistasp Yast*, IV, 26 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 334) says that "Fire" is "the son of Ahura Mazda". In *Yasna*, VI (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 220), we read:

"10. And we worship Ahura and Mithra (*cf.* Mitra—Sun, in Vedic mythology)....

11. And we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and the good waters, the best and Mazda-made, and holy, even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made."

Fire, water and plants were closely associated with the life of the followers of Ahura and of Atharvan, as is clear from a comparative study of *Zend Avesta* and *Atharva Veda*. Soma and its intoxicating juice seem to have given life and vigour to the rival warriors in their struggle for existence in those primitive ages.

V

This is not all. The very literature on which both the followers of Atharvan and Ahura fed their imagination seems to have been one and the same.

Yasna, LV, 2 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 294) says:—

That which *Gāthas* (may) be to us, which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food, yea, which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing, such are these *Gāthas* to us, guardians and defenders, and (spiritual) food, even such they are, both food and clothing to the soul.

Mr. Mills says on p. 1 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI): "The five *Gāthas* of Zarathustra and his immediate followers are placed here before the other parts of the *Yasna* on account of their higher antiquity." The five *Gāthas* are:

1. The *Gātha Ahunāvati* (which takes its name from the similarity of its metre to that of the Ahuna Vairya formula).
2. The *Gātha Ustavati* (named from the word which begins it).
3. The *Gātha Spenta Mainyu* (from its commencing words).
4. The *Gātha Vohu Kṣatra.*
5. The *Gātha Vahiṣta Iṣtis.*

These *Gāthas* sing of the greatness of Ahura, His Government and of the fundamental doctrines of the religion of Zarathūṣtra.

Professor Darmesteter says ("Introduction," *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxvii) : "As to the *Gāthas*, they were already to the Zoroastrians of the Sassanian age (third century) just what they are to the Parsis of today...." *Tait. Brāh.*, I. v. 8 and the commentator Sāyaṇācārya makes it clear that the Vedic Sama hymns are the *Gāthas*.

On p. xxxiii he says that twenty-one books or Nasks represented the sacred literature of the Zoroastrians in the Sassanian age. The twenty-one Nasks consisted of seven Nasks of the *Gātha* group, seven of the group of the law and seven of the group of the *Hadha-Matra.* These he calls the theological, legal and mixed groups.

On p. xxxvii he says that "the twenty-one Nasks were formed by Ahura Mazda himself out of the twenty-one words of the Ahuna Vairya" (see *Note* 2 at the end) and that "they were brought by Zoroaster to King Vistasp".

Farvard in Yast, XXIV, 94 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII) speaks of Zoroaster as the Atharvan, Spitama Zarathūṣtra.

In *Vistasp Yast*, I (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 328) Zarathūṣtra addressing the young king Vistaspa says :—

"Mayest thou have strength to reach the Rangha, whose way lies afar, as Vafra Navaza did.

"May ten sons be born of thy own body, three as Atharvans, three as warriors, three as tillers of the ground."

This must refer to three classes of people then, the priests (Brahmins), the Kṣatriyas, and the Vicas (the people, according to the *Atharva Veda*), *cf. Vistasp Yast*, III–16 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 332) which speaks of the three classes, 'priest, warrior, and husbandman' and *Atharva Veda* which refers only to three classes, Brahma, Kṣatriya and Vica (the others), and refers to the Śūdra as a separate class beside the Āryan (*A.V.*, XIX, 62).

In *Zamyad Yast*, VIII, 53 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 299) Ahura Mazda tells Zarathūṣtra that 'he has the gifts of an Atharvan' who 'shall seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized', who 'shall long for the illumination of knowledge, who shall long for fulness of knowledge'.

VI

Such an Atharvan was Zarathūṣtra. He gave to King Vistasp the twenty-one Nasks formed from the twenty-one words of the Ahuna Vairya. These contained the *Gāthas* or old songs in praise of Ahura Mazda. *Atharva Veda*, XV. 8. 4 says that the *Gāthas* were one of the four forms of literature (*Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gātha, and Naracansi*) that moved after Mahādeva the first Vratya—the Lord who performed *Vrata* or worship of Brahman after Creation. Again *Atharva Veda*, XX, 127, refers to *Gāthas, Naracamsas, Raibhis* and *Parikṣityas*. In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, II, 19, the *Gāthas* are referred to as a part of the ancient literature of the Āryans (Four *Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kalpa, Gātha, Naracamsa*). The *Gāthas*, therefore, formed an important portion of the early sacred literature of the Āryans and the Zoroastrians, who were originally part and parcel of the Āryans.

Visparad, XXIII (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 363) says, "We sacrifice to that reward, health, healing, furtherance and increase, and to that victory which is within the two, the Ahuna Vairya and the Airyema-iṣyo, through the memorised recital of the good thoughts, words and deeds (which they enjoin).

Airyema-iṣyo is spoken of as 'the greatest of all the authoritative prayers' (*Miscellaneous Fragments*, IV, *S.B.E.*,

Vol. XXXI, p. 390). Ahuna Vairya is spoken of as 'a prayer to be chosen as the choice one of Mazda' (*Miscellaneous Fragments*, IX, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393).

Visparad, XIV (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 356–57) says:—

1. We worship Ahura Mazda, the Holy Lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the *Gātha Ahunavaiti*, with its measures and word structure, and its Zend, with its questions and counter-questions, with its words and its metric feet....

3. Also we worship the Ahuna Vairya, the Lord of the ritual order, the Holy Lord with its Ahu and its Ratu (Pazand); for He is the one with the title Ahu and Ratu, who is Ahura Mazda.

Yasna, VIII, 9 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 222) says:

"Propitiation to Hoama (Soma) who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise. As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (Hoṭṛ) speaks forth to me (the Ratu). As an Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me (The Zaotar). So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned speak forth."

Yasna, XXVII, 13 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 280) says:—

"As the Ahu is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a Creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer."

Yasna, XIX, which is the Zand or Commentary on the Ahuna Vairya Formulæ (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 259) says:—

"[As the Ahu is excellent, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer.]

"And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahu and its Ratu before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters, and the plants, and the four-footed kine, before the birth of the holy biped man, before this Sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals."

From these references it appears that the early opponents of the Daevas were led by two leaders Ahu and Ratu, and that the term Ahura is a word formed from Ahu and Ratu. Ahu-ra, Ahura (Asura), as the opponent of Daeva, led the followers of Zarathūṣtra against the Daevas, the followers of Atharvan, under the leadership of Indra (Aṅgra Mainyu). From Hindu mythology, it appears that Twastri, who was the artisan of the Devas, who 'sharpened and carried the great iron axe', and 'forged the thunderbolts of Indra', later became the enemy of Indra, who slew Viśva-rūpa or Tri-śiras, the son of Twastri, because he was obnoxious to him on account of his three heads, six eyes and three mouths (*Hindu Classical Dictionary*, Dawson, p. 323) (see *Note 3* at the end). It is possible that Twastri thereafter led one section of the people against Indra, who was constantly fighting for the over-lordship of the primitive Āryans. Twastri might be Zara-thūṣtra. If Ahura is Ahu and Ratu, it fits in well with the story in Hindu mythology that when the Ocean of Milk was churned, and 'when the Gods produced the *Amṛta*', Rāhu 'assumed a disguise, and insinuating himself amongst them, drank some of it' and he was cut off in twain, the head and the two arms becoming Rāhu and the lower parts becoming Ketu. But they had attained to immortality, and so became the enemies of the Devas. The Asuras became the life-long opponents of the Devas and Vedic literature again and again speaks of the fights between the two parties, who vied with each other to attain to immortality (*Svarga*) by doing *yagñas*, and fought against each other for territory, power, etc. *Aban Yast* (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 52) says that the followers of Ahura Mazda prayed to the great Goddess of the Waters, Ardvi Sura Anahita (the high, powerful, undefiled) heavenly spring from which all waters on the earth flow down (*cf.* the legend of Ganga) (see *Note 4* at the end), to give them a boon that they 'may smite of the Āryan people, their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands and their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads,' but that the Goddess 'did not grant them that

boon ' (p. 68). But when Gamaspa, the prime minister of Vistaspa, offered a sacrifice to the Goddess and prayed to her that he ' may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Āryans ', she granted him that boon (p. 70).

The Goddess tells Zarathūṣtra,

" Of this libation of mine thou shalt drink, thou who art an Atharvan, who hast asked and learnt the revealed law, who art wise, clever, and the word incarnate."

It is clear from this that the followers of Zarathūṣtra were also Atharvans, but that they became inimical in their interests in later times. Vedic literature records a veritably long period of time during which this rivalry was kept up. Ultimately the followers of Zarathūṣtra seem to have left the land of their birth and wandered away westwards.

Yasna, LVII–XI (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 304) says :—

We worship Sraoṣa, the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness, ... which from both the weapons bear the good Obedience the blessed, plunging forward in their zeal, when he takes his course from India on the East, and when he lights down on the West.

But the followers of Ahura Mazda, under the leadership of Zarathūṣtra carried with them their Scripture the *Gāthas*, their Fire—the son of Ahura, the Holy Water—Zaotra, the worship of Hoama, the use of the yellow juice of the divine plant of Mazda, Haoma, and the rituals and the social structure of their Motherland. The Atharvans continued in their own land, with the same scriptures, their Fire, produced by Atharvan and tended by his son Dadhyanc and then by Angīras and Bhṛgu, worshipped the Holy Water, *Śānti-Udaka*, worshipped Soma, who was 'born out of Puruṣa ' (*A.V.*, XIX. 6. 16; *H.O.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 906), drank the juice of the divine plant Soma, and still followed their own rituals and kept up their social structure. It was but natural that the followers of Zarathūṣtra returned, in a later age, to their own Motherland, when the conditions of life had undergone a thorough change, when the Āryans of India had become a tolerant race, after their long

evolution through the Vedic, Upaniṣadic and Epic Ages, and after the Great *Jagat-Guru* Śrī Śankarācārya had established the doctrine of the Vedānta, which gave every creature of Brahman a right to follow its own trend of evolution according to its own *karma*, without opposition or interference from any fellow-creature, because all creatures of Brahman come from Him and return to Him in the fulness of Time.

Note 1

The Apratiratha Hymn

Atharva Veda, XIX, 13, which is the *Aprathiratha* Hymn, for 'success in war', refers to the fight with the Asuras in the first verse, which runs thus:

1. 'Indra's two arms (are) stout, virile, these two wondrous successful bulls; them will I first yoke when the yoga (conjucture) arrives—they by which was conquered the heaven that is the Asura'.

This verse is omitted in the *Aprathiratha* Hymn in the *Yajur Veda*, but the conflict of the Devas with the Asuras is mentioned as an *ākhyāna* (story) in the *Brāhmaṇa* (*cf. H.O.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 918; *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 369 and p. 433. See "the Place of the *Atharva Veda* in Vedic Literature", *QJMS.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, pp. 387–416).

Note 2

The Twenty-one words of Ahuna Vairya singificantly correspond to the first twenty-one *Anuvākas* of the *Aruṇa-Praçna*, which give an account of the Sun and His Glory, while *Anuvākas* 22–32 of the *Aruṇa-Praçna* deal with the ritual of *Aruṇa-Ketuka Cayana*, associated with water. This latter portion of the *Aruṇa-Praçna* is an Appendix to the *Kāthaka Praçna*, which deals with *Cayanas* (*T. Brāhmaṇa-Kāthaka*, 1–3. See my *Hymn of Aruṇa* and the Paper on "The *Aruṇa Praçna* and the *Atharva Veda*," *QJMS.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, pp. 260-68.)

Note 3

Cf. Bundahis, xxxiii, *Note*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

"Zarathūṣtra had three sons during his life-time, Isad-vastra, Hvare-kithra and Urvatad-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors and husbandmen. Urvatad-nara, as a husbandman, was chosen to be the Ahu or Temporal Lord of the Var, on account of the Var being underground. Zarathūṣtra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the Ratu or Spiritual Lord in Airyana Vaego, where he founded the Religion by a sacrifice."

Cf. Indian traditional beliefs :—

1. The *Atharvaṇa Veda* is the *Veda* of the Mlechas.
2. Rāhu is the planet that controls temporal power.
3. Ketu is the planet that guides one's spiritual destiny.
4. Rāhu is the ruling planet of the Mlechas (Mlecha is one who is out of the fold of *Varṇa-āśrma-Dharma*).

Note.—In the *Navagraha-stotra*, Rāhu is called the king of the Daityas and it is also said that Rāhu is worshipped by the Asuras. Ketu is called the enemy of the Suras.

Note 4

Cf. with the Hindu legend of the descent of Ganga from the *Svarga-Loka*.

Aban Yast, XXI (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 73) :—

85. Whom Ahura Mazda, the merciful, ordered thus, saying : "Come, O Ardvi Sura Anahita ! come from those stars down to the earth made by Ahura, that the great lords may worship thee, the masters of the countries, and their sons.

86. The men of strength will beg of thee swift horses and supremacy of Glory.

The Atharvans who read and the pupils of the Atharvans will beg of thee knowledge and prosperity, the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant.

88. Then Ardvi Sura Anahita came forth, O Zarathūṣtra ! down from those stars to the earth made by Mazda.....

APPENDIX

According to ritualistic terminology, *Yajur Veda* is called *Adhvara Veda*, *Sāma Veda*, the *Udgāta Veda*, *Ṛg Veda*, the *Hoṭṛ Veda*. According to *Zend Avesta*, the Scripture of Zoroaṣtrianism, it was the duty of the Zaotar (*cf. Hoṭṛ*) to sing the *Gāthas*, as is seen from *Erpatistan* and *Nirangistan*, IV (*S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 323). This function is carried over to the *Udgāta*, the singer of the *Gāthas*, in *Sāmans*. The *Hoṭṛ* specialised in the *Ṛg Veda*, while the Adhvaryu, the Priest, was in charge of the whole ritual or *Yagña* (*cf. Yasna*, in *Zend Avesta*). Adhvaryu seems to have been the ritualistic descendant of Atharvan (*cf. Atharvan*, meaning Priest in *Erpatistan*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 304, etc.). In *Yasna*, XIII (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 250) the invocation is extended to the 'chief of the Atharvan, and his pupils' (the word is here Atharvan, in other places it is Athravan).

The *Hom Yast* (*Yasna*, IX, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 230) says:

"At the hour of Havani (*cf. Savaṇa*), Haoma (Soma) came to Zarathūṣtra, as he served the (sacred) Fire, and sanctified (its flame) while he sang aloud the *Gāthas*."

The various officials who officiated at the Hoama-offering are mentioned in *Visparad*, III (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 341):

1. Zaotar, the chief priest—*cf. Hoṭṛ*.
2. Havanan, who pounded the Haoma in the mortar.
3. Ratu (Several offices were combined in Ratu).
4. Atarevakṣa, who fed the fire—*cf. Agnidhra*.
5. Frabaretar, who aided the presentations.
6. Aberet, the water-carrier.
7. Asnatar, the washer.
8. Raethwiskar, the mixer who attended to disinfections, *cf. Ritwik*— a general term.
9. Sraoṣavareza, who attended to penance (the duty of Brahma who should be well versed in all the four *Vedas*). The Sraoṣavareza is spoken of here as

'the wisest one, the most correct and veracious in his speech' (p. 342).

Note.—It appears that the Ratu took up the functions of all the officials, as is seen from his reply to the Zaotar that he would come and fulfil the duties of one and all of the officials summoned by the Zaotar.

It shows the importance that Ratu (and Ahu) occupied in the performance of the rituals by the followers of Zarathūṣtra.

From the above comparison of *Zend Avesta* with the corresponding Vedic names and rules, it follows that

1. Our Adhvaryu corresponds to Atharvan (priest).
2. Our Udgata is the descendant of the Zaotar (*Hoṭṛ*) whose duty was to sing the *Gāthas* (now—*Sāmans*).
3. Our *Hoṭṛ*, who now is in charge of the *Ṛg Veda*, was originally the general priest under the Atharvan.
4. Our Agnidhra has his counterpart in *Atarevakṣa* (Atar meant fire, son of Ahura Mazda).
5. Our Brahma corresponds to Sraoṣavareza.
6. Our Yajaman, the sacrificer was Zarathūṣtra himself.

[Could Adhvaryu be considered to be philologically cognate with Atharvan? Atharvan–Athravan (*Zend Avesta*)—Adhvaryu.]

ADVAITA VEDĀNTA

By P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 3, page 338*)

X

The spiritual aspirant has necessarily to undergo the moral training imposed by scriptures. Some Advaitins are of opinion that ethical excellence and ceremonial purity are not directly contributory to spiritual realisation. Morality and ritual help the soul to acquire the calmness necessary for Vedāntic study. Śankara in his commentaries has enjoined the spiritual aspirant to acquire the pre-requisites for Vedāntic enquiry. They are: the discrimination of the fleeting from the permanent, non-attachment to results here and hereafter, the qualities of calmness, equanimity and contentment, etc., and the desire for release. Ethical excellence is a necessary step for the Advaitin on his path to perfection. The spiritual aspirant has necessarily to cultivate *vairāgya* (detachment). The doctrine of non-attachment pre-supposes the cultivation of positive practical virtues. This grand ideal of non-attachment has been systematically preached in all the systems of Indian Philosophy. Without non-attachment concentration on the spiritual reality is impossible. The great philosophers of the West have not cultivated this detachment. Curiously enough, Aldous Huxley points out that the biographies of the great metaphysicians of the West often make extremely depressing reading. Spite, envy and vanity are too frequently manifested by these professed lovers of wisdom. Some are not even immune from the most childish animalism. Nietzsche's biographers record that at the time when he was writing his *Superman* he was unable to control his appetite for jam and pastry. In his mountain retreat when a hamper of good things arrived for him, he would eat and eat until he had to go to bed with a billious attack. Kant had a similar passion for crystallised fruit and along with it such an abhorence for sickness

and death that he refused to visit his friends when they were ill, or even to speak of them once they had died. Besides Kant claimed an infallibility for his metaphysics and identified the limits of philosophy with his thought. These great Western thinkers were intelligent in relation to the not-self and were ignorant of the self. The Advaitin on the other hand, points out that ethical excellence is the first step for spiritual realisation. A careful discriminative wisdom results in the attachment to Brahman and detachment from the perishing and illusory. After acquiring the necessary moral excellence the aspirant takes to uninterrupted meditation and contemplation of the only scripture-taught real. Meditation is the technique of mysticism. It is the method of acquiring knowledge of the most essential nature of things. Such uninterrupted contemplation leads to the final intuition, *i.e.*, *Brahmasākṣātkāra*. This final intuition is the central fact of religion. "To develop this spiritual dimension we have to withdraw our souls from the flux of existence, endure an agony of experience, or travel barren and stormy wastes of despair. When once this consciousness arises pride, prejudice and privilege fall and a new delight is born in the soul."[20] This mystic experience is the privilege of one and all of us if we strive for it. The unrepentant rationalist might object to the validity of mystic experience. It is impossible for the deaf to form any idea of the nature or significance of melodious music. To an Indian, European orchestral music is intolerably noisy, complicated and over-intellectual. To him it gives no music but only an elaborate cacophony. "Of the significant and pleasurable experiences of life only the simplest are open indiscriminately to all. The other pleasures cannot be had except by those who have undergone a suitable training. One must be trained even to enjoy the pleasures of alcohol and tobacco. First whisky seems revolting. First pipes turn even the strongest of boyish stomachs. Similarly, first Shakesphere's sonnets

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[20] Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Lecture to World Conference on Supreme Religious Ideal.

seem meaningless and first differential equation sheer torture." These facts point out that mystical experience is for the trained soul. The final intuition results according to one school of Advaita from the non-dual texts and according to another is perceived by the internal organ, *manas*. It is a non-relational type of knowledge. It is an immediate experience. It is just like the indeterminate cognition of a child in the pre-relational stage. Two elements are common between the child's pre-relational cognition and Brahman intuition. They are immediacy and the non-attributive nature of cognition. The child's cognition returns to relational level as it grows but Brahman intuition never returns to relational level.

XI

The final realisation is not anything novel. It is the realisation of the potential nature of the spirit. It is just like the forgotten ornament round one's own neck. This realisation of Advaita is not intended for a new sect or a clique only. It is not the close preserve of the intellectual. The realisation for the Advaitin does not result through mere intellectualism. And realisation is not mere intellectualism. If Śankara denied the Śūdra the eligibility for the study of the Vedānta he did it not to exclude him from Brahman realisation. He pointed out other and easier means for the Śūdra to realise Brahman. The path to spiritual realisation is not one mechanical road for all. All the buds do not give rise to the same flower. Different spiritual aspirants follow different techniques.

Advaita posits realisation as possible for all. There is no eternal damnation for any soul. Release being the manifestation of one's own nature and nothing adventitious, cannot be denied or withheld from any. It is the birthright of every soul. Universal salvation is not only a possibility but a logical necessity for Advaita. Some souls might attain release soon and others may take a longer time. As long as there is going to be a single unreleased soul there is bound to be the existence of nescience. The presence of nescience is enough a preventive for self-realisation. As soon as each soul realises the self, it becomes one with Īśvara and not Brahman.

Brahman realisation is achieved only when all the souls realise their true nature. Hence realisation is not merely a pure personal concern of each individual. The Advaita doctrine of universal salvation answers the persistent claims of individuality and social duty put forward by the modern individualist. The final release of an individual is bound up with the release of others. Hence the necessity to help the other souls to attain release.

Realisation is not mere absence of misery. It has a positive element in it. That is bliss. All the values of empirical life are not cancelled and annihilated in Brahman-realisation. They are transcended and sublimated. It is not sublated by any other experience. Non-contradiction and coherence are the two tests by which we judge reality. The two are the negative and the positive aspects of one and the same principle. It is self-manifest. Descartes was right in so far as he pointed out that thinking implies a thinker. Śankara's description of the self is a step in advance of Descartes. Descartes identifies self with one aspect of experience, namely the experiencer. Śankara identifies the self with experience in all its aspects.

XII

The individual self obtains release sometimes even when he is embodied, then he is called a *jīvanmukta*. The physical body has no effect on the soul. The need for the *jīvanmukta* arises from the fact that we need reliable teachers who can preach Advaita experience from self-knowledge. Some are of opinion that the projective energy of nescience is separated from the obscuring energy in the *jīvanmukta*. Some others hold that *jīvanmukta* is a figurative mode of expression and it is not final release.

XIII

Besides the intellectual, there are other modes of realising Brahman. Truth which is Brahman is a perfect orb. We are bound to encompass it sooner or later. At best the intellectual methods might help us to reach Brahman sooner but it does not follow from this that the heart in devotion or the self dedicated to service is any the less important a method to

reach the Brahman. No spiritual pontiff can declare a monopoly for Brahman knowledge. The prescribed modes and paths are alright in their own place. They are good as guides and we should not allow them to dominate us. It is intellectualism that has led us to speak in despairing terms about emotion. It is merely an ancient and an irrational prejudice, against emotion and will that has relegated *bhakti* to a lower degree than *jñāna*. "The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom, and the transcendence of the gulf between the agent and his action is not less noteworthy than the transcendence between the seer and the seen in knowledge." The man who trades in concepts is not intrinsically superior to him who trades in sounds and colours. The beatific vision may come through artistic as through intellectual channels and the truly moral man who has lost all thought of himself is not necessarily farther from realisation than the artist or philosopher. The significant contribution of post-Śankara thinkers to Advaita is the integral synthesis rather than an intellectual dominance."[21]

The grand ideal of the Advaita Philosophy is the supreme value of the real individual who is like the ideal artist and whose activities are creative. The pure Advaitin is not tainted by the calculus of profit and loss. He has no purposive calculations or mechanical impulsions for his acts. He needs no laws. He is a law unto Himself. There is nothing outside him because he is the Supreme Spirit. When we are liberated from the narrow prejudices and cast-iron conventions we are able to realise more fully through music or poetry, through history or science, through beauty and pain that the really valuable thing in human life is the *Ātman* and not such thing as happen on the battle fields or in the clash of politics or in the regimented march of masses of men towards an externally imposed goal. The greatest in human life is *Ātman*.

(*Concluded*)

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[21] S. S. S. Sastri, "An Advaitin's plea for Continuity," *Madras University Journal*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 4.

POLIGARS OF MYSORE AND THEIR CIVILIZATION: A STUDY

By P. B. Ramachandra Rao

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 2, page 191*)

Bangāra Thimma Naik (1680–1728)

Though Vijayanagar was declining day after day, still Bangāra Thimma Naik brought to order such of these ryots, agriculturists and subordinates who revolted and stopped the payment of dues to Vijayanagar. Gradually even the payment of tribute by the Poligars was not collected by the Vijayanagar rulers. The Poligars never paid voluntarily their dues to the sovereign. In this state of affairs came the invasion of the Muhammadan ruler of Hyderabad who raided Vijayanagar and conquered slowly the territory of Vijayanagar. He demanded payment of 30,000 pagodas as tribute from the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya. After a time, came the invasions of the Delhi Mughal Emperors. Alamghir invaded Vijayanagar and other subordinate principalities divided Vijayanagar. Anegondi and a few villages were given to Narasingarāya, a Muhammadan ruler being appointed for the rest. He levied tribute and demanded heavy sums from various chiefs, including the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya who agreed to pay 35,000 pagodas.

Kadarappa Naik III (1728–1740)

The distance was a great factor that made strong rule of the Delhi Emperors over the Deccan difficult and encouraged the growth of the Marāthās. Peshwa Bāji Rao I was ruling Poona when the Marāthās invaded the Deccan where there was an agreement for payment of tribute to the Peshwa, including 35,000 pagodas from Gummanāyakana Pāḷya.

Narasimha Naik V (1740–1760)

The territory forming part of Vijayanagar and ruled by Muhammadans was conquered by the Marāthās and Dilawar Khan was appointed Subedar of the place. Narasimha Naik for purchasing the territory of Gorantla Sammath for 25,000 rupees from the Marāthās, submitted through Dalvoy Narasimhaiya a petition to the court of Bālāji Rao, the Peshwa. The Subedar's recommendation for the sale of the said territory to Narasimha Naik was accepted by the Marātha ruler and Narasimha Naik thus extended his Pāḷayapat. Narasimha Naik built a fortress, constructed large lakes and other water resources, brought therein artists and workmen and others and thus made the new place yield 40,000 pagodas. He named Gorantla Sammath as Kodi-konda (Cock-hill).

Bāji Rao, at this time, desiring to collect tribute at a higher rate from all the subordinate chiefs and Poligar nobles, sent Commander Gopāla Rao with a large army for the purpose. The latter forcibly annexed Kandukur Taluk from the Gummamāyakana Pāḷya and levied a sum of 40,000 rupees as annual tribute. Narasimha Naik protested and representations to the Marātha ruler were successful and the Pāḷayapat was restored to him.

During the period of struggle between the Muhammadans and the Marāthās for supremacy in this part of the country, Murāri Rao, Marātha Chief under the Nizam of Hyderabad, invaded Gummanāyakana Pāḷya, laid siege to it, by superior force separated Kodi-konda from the Poligar's territory and annexed it to the Muhammadan territory, finally laying a tribute of 35,000 rupees.

At this period Beṭṭada Chamarāja Wodeyar was ruling Mysore and Hyder Āli, an officer of the Mysore army, was practically in power. He had conquered and annexed Sirsi, Gutti, Guramkonda and many other places round about, including Kodi-konda which was a former possession of the Poligar Narasimha Naik. Hyder invaded Gummanāyakana Pāḷya also, but finally restored it to the Poligar on an agreed annual tribute of 35,000 rupees. Then, Narasimha

Naik, who was chafing under the disaster which had overtaken him under Murāri Rao represented how his valuable possession of Kodi-konda was lost and had it ordered to be restored by his deputy Mir Sab; Mir Sab did not do it but he gave it away to his brother-in-law. The news secretly reached Hyder and Mir Sab becoming aware of it vowed revenge.

When Narasimha Naik fell severely ill, his wife Rāmakka Nāyakī was managing the Pāḷayapat and Dalvoy Sane Narasimhiah taking advantage of the supposed weak condition of the principality under a woman, intrigued against her. The Dalvoy was arrested and brought before Rāmakka Nāyakī. After enquiry, this treacherous man's property was confiscated, providing an allowance for his maintenance and was gifted to the Ballāpūr Naiks who had stood by her. This queen augmented the resources of the State, constructed a big reservoir in her name and left an enduring impression of her beneficent administration in the country. After Vasanta Naik IV (Nālmadi) (1760–65), who was a subordinate chieftain, paying a tribute to Hyder, his son, Narasimha Naik, succeeded.

Narasimha Naik VI (1765–1802)

Narasimha Naik continued the annual tribute to Hyder Āli. He was nursing the loss of Gorantla Sammath (Kodi-konda) which Mir Sab did not hand over and was concerting secret measures for its re-possession. On the death of Hyder, Mir Sab got an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya whom the late Sultan had befriended against his own subordinates. He finally reported to Tippu Sultan that the Poligars were proving refractory and attempting an attack on the sovereign of Mysore. Tippu gave a blank cheque to exterminate the Poligars. Mir Sab with the vast army despatched from the capital marched against the Poligars and annexed several small principalities, and proceeded against Gummanāyakana Pāḷya. Narasimha Naik's protestations of loyalty for generations to the Sultan of Mysore did not avail and Mir Sab invaded his territory also.

Narasimha Naik afraid of the ravages of the invading army and feeling personally, when he was about to be defeated, fled with his family and resources from his Pāḷayapat to Doṇe Bylu in Racavati Taluk.

During the Third Mysore War between Tippu and the British, Narasimha Naik appealed to General Meadows for help and was restored possession of his Pāḷayapat on a guarantee of loyalty to the British army and promise of support of assistance to the English in their invasion against Tippu. Narasimha Naik helped the English under Subedar Mohan Singh to recover what Tippu's army had taken away from the British. When peace was established in 1793 with Tippu, Mir Sab again invaded Gummanāyakana Pāḷya and took possession of it, forcing Narasimha Naik to flee for refuge with his wife and children.

In the Fourth Mysore War which ended in the downfall of Tippu Sultan and with the restoration of the Ancient Hindu Monarchy by the British, at the instance of General Harris, Narasimha Naik with a large army of his own and with the army of Byche Gowda, Poligar of Ballāpūr, recovered his Pāḷayapat and joined the British armies which invaded Seringapatam in 1799. With the restoration of Mysore, the Poligar understood from General Harris that he had instructed Dewan Pūrṇiah to restore him his Pāḷayapat but in this attempt he was ultimately unsuccessful. Thereupon, he settled at Doṇe Pādu Village in Guramkonda Taluk, where, he, the last Poligar to rule the ancient Poligar Pāḷayapat, Gummanāyakana Pāḷya, died of grief.[41]

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[41] *Palayagars of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya*, by M. S. Puttanna, B.A., in Kannada, 1 26.

Note.—The history is based on a carefully preserved chronicle originally written in Telugu and subsequently rendered into dignified Kannada in 1863 by Arkalgud Krishnappa. The Manuscript of the chronicle is available with Mr. Rāmalingappa Naik and his brother Mr. Bangārappa Naik.

Hurpanhully

The Poligar of Hurpanhully, the chief power and influence of the Bedas and the chief allay of Āli Adil Shah, the enemy of Vijayanagar, shared the same fate as that of the Poligar of Citaldroog. In 1752 the chief of Hurpanhully submitted himself to Hyder and became a valuable and much trusted officer and up to 1786 he represented most parts of his hereditary feudal territory with his baronial rights. Whether Tippu Sultan was weary of the Beda chiefs or resented the antiquities of their families and privileges and their local power is not known but Citaldroog had previously fallen before his father and his treatment of the Naik of Hurpanhully is thus recorded by Wilks: "On his return (that is from the districts near and beyond Tungabhadra) by a route passing nearly midway between Hurpanhully and Rāyadroog he made detachments on pretence of dispersing his army in cantonments, of two brigades with secret instructions to each of the fortresses; and having previously removed all grounds of suspicion, by repeated personal acknowledgements to the Poligars of these places, for the distinguished services they had rendered in the late campaign, he seized their chiefs and principal officers in the camp in the same day and hour as his brigades overpowered their unsuspecting garrisons. The cash and effects of every kind, not excepting the personal ornaments of the women, were carried off as royal plunder and the chiefs were sent to the accustomed fate of Cabbaldroog." In his own memoirs the Sultan justifies the annexations of these dependencies to his dominions on the ground of uncertain allegiance of the chiefs to his father and their conspiracies in regard to himself. The family of Hurpanhully was not, however, extinguished and in 1792, the conduct of Tippu's local officers at Citaldroog, drove the Bedas into rebellion, which was suppressed with much difficulty. After the fall of Seringapatam, the Hurpanhully District formed part of those transferred to the Nizam by whom the family was recognised and to some extent reinstated. Finally, in the cession of the country acquired from Tippu, south of Kistna, to this Government,

Hurpanhully was included and belongs now to the Collectorate of Bellary. The family still exists, but in reduced circumstances.[42]

Conclusion

"The Poligar has become a Zemindar and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nayakas and Maravar Zemindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent untamable chiefs of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One also asks: Can it be really true that the peaceful Nayaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of these fierce retainers of the Poligar? The change brought among the poorer classes of the Maravars is not perhaps quite so complete, but many of them have merged their traditional occupation and watchmen in the saner and more reputable occupation of husbandsmen, and it may fairly be said of the majority of the members of this caste, that though once the terror of the country, they are now as amenable to law and reason as any other class."

(*Concluded*)

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[42] *Indian Antiquary*, December 1887: "A Selection of Kanarese Ballads," by J. F. Fleet.

BĀLĀJI BĀJI RAO AND THE SOUTH

By V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A.

The Editor prefaces the *Peshwa's Dafter*, No. 28, that the Peshwa had nearly annexed Mysore and would have completed the conquest if the disaster of Pāṇipat had not intervened. His long and brilliant campaign of 1753 A.D. brought the whole region under his sway.

This statement requires careful investigation. The Carnatic was then the greatest scene of confusion and scramble for power. The Peshwa was anxious to conquer it. The Nizam was eager to establish his nominal suzerainty over Arcot. The English and the French were trying to fish in the troubled waters. The local rulers like the Pathan Nawabs of Savanur, Kadapa, Karnūl, Adoni, were unwilling to accept any overlordship. Then there was Mysore Rāja equally proud of his independence, ably assisted by Hyder Naik. To have overcome the local chieftain and driven out the foreign invaders would be a task beyond the powers of the Peshwa. Either the Peshwa was unable to conquer the south as he did in the north where his power was ably supported by Sindhia or Holkar; or he was indifferent to the acquisition of territories in the south, desiring only tributes from it; or he was unable to achieve his aim owing to the unruly nature of the people.

In the first place, there was rivalry among the Peshwa's men. Sāhu Rāja was compelled to give the charge of Carnatic to Bābuji Naik on threat of hunger-strike.[1] His wife Rāṇi Sakwar Bai gave away a *sanad* to Fateh Singh and Raghoji Bhounsles, for the Southern districts. Fateh Singh conquers the south; defies the Peshwa's authority and sets up the Nawab of Arcot to do so.

There was the Nizam equally anxious to establish his control over the south. He was intriguing with the Queen at Satāra and the Pratinidhi. The Nawab of Savanur looked

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[1] *Peshwa's Dafter*, No. 28, Letter 2.

aghast at the prospect of Marātha invasion and tried to secure the help of Sāmbāji of Kolhapur to countermand the Peshwa's entry into the south.

Morāri Rao Ghōrpade was also eager to carve out a kingdom for himself and ready to side with the Peshwa or of his enemies as it suited him. More than all, the people of Carnatic were highly restive and unable to brook control. Often the Marāthās reported home that the people of Carnatic were rough ones—unreliable liars—not easily conquerable.[2]

Besides, the Marātha army was mismanaged. They suffered from eternal want of funds.[3] They wrote home frequently thus: "Please send men, money and munitions." In spite of such defects of equipment and mismanagement, we cannot withhold our admiration for the men who hoped to conquer the whole of the south, in spite of heavy odds. The object of this note is to draw special attention to the dogged fight put up by Mysore in spite of her handicaps.

The Peshwa sent an expedition in 1757 A.D. under Balavant Rao Mehendale and Malhāri Rao Rashte to subdue Mysore and recover the scarcely paid tribute. The Marāthās had conquered the Pāḷayams of Citradrug, Devanahally, Hoskote and other places. Mysore refused to pay or was evading payment.[4]

Morāri Rao was unable to render any help on the plea of financial disability.[5] Also he was jealous of the Peshwa and anxious for a free hand for himself.[6] So the only local Marātha Sirdar was unable to help the army of invasion.

Then the attitude of Mysore was an another enigma for the invaders. "Channarāyapatna, Kadur, Bāṇāvar, Nāgamangala, all taken. Yet Nandarāja's eyes are not opened to the

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2 *Peshwa's Dafter* No. 28, L. 64.

3 *Ibid.*, Letters 109, 133, 136.

4 *Ibid.*, Letter 140.

5 *Ibid.*, L. 180.

6 *Ibid.*, L. 169.

situation," says a letter.[7] "Nandarāj is notorious for procrastination. Evades payment of money. Our men are tired of waiting in the camp for a long time. They are disheartened ; food supplies have run short," says another report.[8] Attempt at a siege of Seringapatam was thoroughly disheartening. The fortress was considered impregnable. It was a costly affair.[9]

Another letter says, "We are waiting for days. There is no chance of an interview with the Daḷavai. Unless a new army is sent our business cannot succeed. We take fort after fort. Yet no money nor peace is forthcoming."[10]

So unable to attack Seringapatam all at once, Bangalore was besieged in 1757–58. The honour of defence fell on Barki Venkata Rao, who had already distinguished himself in the siege of Trichinopoly. His fight for the defence of the City was fully epic in its heroism. His vigilance against surprise attacks and his lightning sallies had profoundly disheartened the besiegers. "The Bangalorean has surpassed us in strength ; we have neither men nor money. Our men are losing heart. Mysore is daily increasing in power. How often am I to write for help?"[11] The besiegers were still further discouraged by the enterprise of Hyder Āli who managed to throw into the beleaguered city supplies of food and money and Balavanta Rao was forced to raise the siege hoping to circumvent Hyder's forces. He satisfied his spleen by sending an ultimatum to Mysore to pay within thirty-six hours or have the country ravaged by fire and sword.[12]

The Rāja of Mysore plays for time. He promises to give back territories in lieu of money. This is not wanted by the Peshwa who wants only money.[13] The invaders are struck

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[7] *Peshwa's Dafter*, L. 220.
[8] *Ibid.*, L. 220.
[9] *Ibid.*, L. 109.
[10] *Ibid.*, L. 112, 201.
[11] *Ibid.*, L. 218.
[12] *Ibid.*, L. 226.
[13] *Ibid.*, L. 225.

by the double nature of the Mysore ruler. While he is negotiating peace, he is preparing also for war. The Marātha envoy returns back on account of the wavering attitude as well as the warlike preparations of the Rāja. Meanwhile Hyder was bent on the recapture of Bangalore;[14] though the Marāthās were not downhearted. "Let him enter it, we shall raise our guns against him." Ultimately they found that the Rāja gave neither money nor territories.[15] Meanwhile Hyder surprised the Marāthās near Chennapatna only to mow them down by his artillery fire, and destroyed all the morale of the Marāthās who sued for peace soon after.[16] This still further dismayed the Marāthās.[17] Another army under Srīnivāsa Rao Barki started from Seringapatam and captured forts after forts by "cunning methods" according to the Marātha chronicler. "So, for fear of him, our men have abandoned three more forts. He has plenty of men and munitions and all." After eighteen months of siege, the terms of peace were concluded on condition that Mysore paid two years of tribute, three lakhs of rupees, as *Ghāsdāna* and then the Marāthās were to surrender their newly conquered tracts to the Government of Jagadeva Rāja.[18] This pyrrhic victory is claimed by them as महत्कार्य (*mahātkārya*), great achievement, and claim for themselves glory (यश), with sigh of relief. The money was to be paid by the Marātha bankers themselves.

They had counted the chickens before roosting. Hyder was waiting for his chance to strike at the Marāthās. He wrote to Pondicherry for help.[19]

Soon after the enemy's back was turned away by paper promises, Mysore again fell into her old habit of sitting tight against paying any money. The Marātha envoy writes in doleful mood: "Days have passed. Mysore has no hope of

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14 *Peshwa's Dafter*, L. 228.
15 *Ibid.*, L. 228.
16 *Mys. Arch. Rept.*, 1937.
17 *Peshwa's Dafter*, L. 28—L. 256.
18 *Ibid.*, L. 266.
19 *Ibid.*, L. 276.

giving us the money. I am staying in Hoskote for three months. My army has run short of provisions. Prices are exrorbitant. Formerly up to Bijāpur, we secured plenty of loot. Now our horses are dying for want of provisions."[20]

The following statement describes the condition of the Carnatic, when Marātha Power was at its zenith. Balavanta Rao complains the Poligars are dilatory in paying their dues to Government; meanwhile the Nawab of Karnūl is also trying to extort money and withdraws only on the arrival of the Marāthās. He has to threaten them alternately to destroy them root and branch—to succeed in his object. The terms of the treaty were equally humiliating to the Marāthās who were obliged to give up fourteen districts in return for a problematic future payment by the Mysorean. No wonder the Peshwa reprimanded Gopāl Rao: "Hyder has destroyed your prestige."

It is also well known that Mādhava Rao, one of the greatest of the Peshwas, was unable effectively to curb Mysore in spite of his repeated invasions.

In the face of these facts, it seems hazardous to assert that the Marāthās very nearly succeeded in the subjugation of the south.

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20 *Peshwa's Dafter*, L. 261.

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 3, page 357*)

APPENDIX I

To Chapter V

Commentary Freely Rendered

The Story will be clear if recast as follows according to the commentator's foot-notes :—

Before creation, my mother—namely, Pure Intelligence—gave me (the individual soul) a companion—named Intellect (whose origin cannot be investigated but who yet remains as the subtle body enabling the individual to partake of pleasures and pains). Intellect is lost at death but reappears as if from nowhere at the time of rebirth. Intellect is bright and shining by nature and remains untainted. She is later associated with a wicked friend, *viz.* Ignorance, who made my friend wander away from me and be outward bent. The subtle intruder remained unnoticed by my mother (because intellect becoming outward turned, had forsaken Pure Intelligence). Intellect was enticed by ignorance and got entangled in objective phenomena. Discriminative faculty was at an ebb and the ego identified itself with intellectual activities. (Individuality disappears with the disappearance of Intellect. Hence they cannot remain without each other.) She by virtue of her innate purity held me in her grip. Therefore I could never forsake her. Intellect constantly associating with Ignorance (*Avidya*) came more and more under her sway until her friend of wonderful powers persuaded her to seek pleasures, celestial or otherwise (although foreign to oneself), so that she (Intellect) came under the influence of her (Ignorance) son—Delusion with whom she trysted in secret. She could not however elude my presence at any time (for Intellect shines only by individual consciousness). I too became deluded on account of my friendship with her.

My friend had in course of time borne a son who took after his father in every respect. His wicked nature developed in full as he grew up and he was marked by unsteadiness (that was Mind). He had extraordinary ability and was unchecked in his flights of passage. But his activities were only according to the qualities inherited from his father or paternal grandmother (*i.e.* always ignorant and silly). Intellect was thus dragged by dark forces until she became clouded in darkness. She was gradually losing interest in me (pure Consciousness) who however loved her, altruistically and continued to do so. (That is to say consciousness is necessary for intellectual perceptions—be they ignorant or wise.) Because of my ceaseless company with Intellect, Delusion tried to overpower me, but I remained pure. Still, the phantasmagoria pertaining to Intellect were attributed to me—individual Consciousness. Such is the ignorance of common people. The mind became more and more associated with me as intellect almost totally ignored me and identified herself with delusion. As the mind grew up in company with Consciousness, his powers manifested more and more. He with his grandma's permission (*i.e.* guided by Ignorance) took Changeful for his wife. Mind enjoyed himself with her because she could satisfy him in every way. The five senses were born of this couple. These Senses too flourished on account of me (individual Consciousness) until they were able to stand on their own legs. The senses functioned in the sensory organ and their father—Mind—was able to project himself through them and enjoy himself thoroughly.

His enjoyments gave him pleasure just at the moment, and left their impressions on him, which he took with him in order to manifest them in dream and enjoy them secretly with his wife, unknown to the gross senses.

Desire possessed the mind and fed him to his entire satisfaction. His desire grew more and more until neither he nor all his associates could satisfy Desire. Constant association of Mind with Desire gave rise to Passion and Greed (the two sons of the second wife). Desire was exceedingly fond of her two sons. Mind was however tortured by these two sons.

Mind's misery was reflected in the Intellect. I (the individual Consciousness) was completely hidden behind the dark and active forces dragging the intellect along and appeared moribund. Suffering thus for untold ages, the mind lost all initiative and was in the clutches of Desire. Then he gained at the time of creation, a city of ten gates—namely the body with ten outlets (two eyes, two ears, two nasal passages, mouth, and urinary and fæcal passages and *brahmarandra*, an opening in the skull). The same old story of misery was repeated in the new incarnation and was often worse. Intellect having in the meantime lost the *sātvic* quality of brightness, did not shine well, and was torpid.

Mind continued to flourish in the company of Ignorance, Delusion and Desire, etc. Intellect could not eschew Mind on the one hand nor function in my absence. We all lived there together. Had I not been there, no one else could have lived in the city. I was protecting them all. On account of my intimacy with Intellect, I became nescient at times, foolish at others, unsteady, vacillating, angry, contemptible, etc. Therefore ignorant people put me down in the same category as Intellect. But the sages know that I have never been tainted. My genesis proves it. My mother is most virtuous, pure, not the least blemished, more extensive than space and subtler than even the subtlest, because she is immanent in all and sundry. Being omniscient, she is of limited knowledge also; that is to say, she is transcendental and individualised self; being omnipotent, she is fragile too; being the prop of all, she has no prop; being of all shapes, she has no shape (like a mirror reflecting forms); being all inclusive, she owns nothing; being the conscious Principle here and now, she is uncognisable; she has no lineage extending beyond Herself. Her daughters like me are too numerous to reckon.

My sisters are infinite in number, like waves on the sea. All of them are involved like myself in their companion's affairs. Though so enmeshed in Intellect, I am still equal to my mother in every respect, because I possess the unique talisman to save me from being tainted.

To return to my life in the city, whenever Mind was fatigued, he used to sleep on his mother, Intellect's lap. When he slept, none of his sons or others could be awake. The city was then guarded by his intimate friend, Breath. Then intellect with all her family used to be clouded by Ignorance—her mother-in-law and then I (individual Consciousness) being free from all trammels used to repair to my mother (*i.e.*, Fulness) and remain in bliss. But I was obliged to come away as soon as the inhabitants of the city awoke.

Mind's friend—Breath—pervaded the whole city and protected all the citizens in every way. They would be scattered away if he were not there. He was the link between them and me. He derived his strength and powers from me. When that city fell to ruin, he would collect them all and pass with them to another city. Mind thus reigned in several places, with the aid of his friend (this refers to reincarnation).

Though befriended by Breath, though born of virtuous Intellect and though brought up by me, Mind was always wallowing in misery because he was wedded to his two incorrigible and insatiate wives, associated with the two wicked sons—Greed and Anger—and was swinging to and fro on account of the other five sons—the Senses. He could find no rest and was manipulated by them, so that he found himself in forests, in wildernesses, in torrid heat or frigid cold, in cess-pools, in dark caverns, etc.—in short, in different kinds of hell.

His miseries reflected on Intellect; and I too being associated with her, was involved in their woes. Who can indeed avoid the evils of bad company?

On one occasion, Intellect sought my advice in secret (*i.e.* when accidentally free from thoughts). I advised dispassionate conduct to her, by which she gained a good husband—Discrimination. She grew stronger, gathered courage to subdue the Mind and kill Greed, Lust and Anger. The other five sons of his—namely, the Senses—were imprisoned. Soon after, she became loyal to me and finally united with me

(*i.e.* gained *nirvikalpa samādhi*). Thus she reached my mother's place—Peace and Bliss.

This story illustrates that bondage and liberation are for Intellect only and not for the individual Consciousness, *i.e.* the Self.

APPENDIX II

Siddha Gīta from Yoga Vāsiṣta

Humble salutations to the Great Masters of all Ages!

Sri: Salutations to that Reality which inheres as the Self in all, from which all the creations are projected, in which they have their being and into which they are finally dissolved! Salutations to that Intelligence which inheres as the Self in all, from which the knower, knowledge and the known, the seer, sight and the seen, the doer, cause and deed, are manifested! Salutations to that Supreme Bliss which inheres as the Self in all, which constitutes the life of all and from whose unfathomable depths happiness is sprayed as fine particles in Heaven or on Earth (where on the sum-total of happiness is not equal to a particle of that unalloyed, natural Bliss. The *Siddhas* (invisible and immortal beings of the noblest order) proclaimed:

1. We adore that One which remains unfalteringly fixed, steady and eternal, which will not therefore admit of recurring births and deaths nor undergo modifications as this and that, and which is by unerring contemplation realised as one's own Self, from which certainly proceeds the chain of links of successive particles of happiness, seemingly derived from and wrongly associated with enjoyments, which are in their turn mere phenomena (*viz.* the ego and the world, or subject and object) reflected as images on the non-dual, unique and abstract consciousness, because they are found on rightly discriminating investigation to merge into the Absolute Self.

Some other *Siddhas* bring it nearer home as follows:

2. We adore that which is realised as the Self originating, and yet remaining as the untainted witness of the birth of the Ego, its thoughts and the world around—by transcending

the cogniser, cognition and the cognised objects pertaining to the wakeful and dream states, as well as the ignorance pertaining to dreamless slumber and made up of the latent tendencies of the mind.

Some other *Siddhas* :

3. We adore That which is realised as the Light inhering as the Self and illumining all, abiding always as the Consciousness in the believer and the non-believer alike,—before creation and after dissolution of the Cosmos and is between them too—and lying hidden even in the successive links ceaselessly formulated as the original sources but rendered abortive by one conscious Self objectifying another in itself.

Note.—*Ślōka* 2 says the Reality, is realised after all eliminating the triads. Some deny the same. There must be some conscious self to deny it. Again, if the original cause of creation be imagined to be as transient as the present creation, the enduring reality beyond the successive links cannot be denied. Or again, if a material cause be surmised, the efficient cause cannot be overlooked. The latter is imagined by the Self. The Self must be the ultimate reality.

4. We adore the Self as That in which all the worlds are fixed, of which they are, from which they emerge, for which they exist, by which all these are projected and for which they are in their being.

5. We adore the Self which shines formless as unbroken 'I–I' consciousness which transcends the ego, yet comprising all the Egos and entire knowledge. These after all make up the whole Cosmos.

6. Those who, ignoring the Lord of the Heart, go about seeking other gods, are like the foot who throws away from his hand the celestial gem (*kaustubha*) which fulfils all the desires of the possessor, and who then excavates the Earth in search of jewels.

Some *Siddhas* counsel Dispassion as follows :

7. The Lord of the Heart is gained after discarding everything else as worthless, who roots out the vigorously growing creeper bearing poisonous fruits of desires.

8. That fool who, being aware of the evils of enjoyments, still runs after them, must not be deemed a man but be put down for an ass. (The male ass runs after the female, even though kicked by her.)

9. The serpents under the cover of the senses must forcibly be laid, as often as they rise their hoods and hiss for prey, like mountains mercilessly hit by the thunderbolt of Indra (the God of rain, thunder and lightning).

The other *Siddhas* hit on the cardinal point as follows:

10. Acquire the bliss of peace by reigning in the senses and stilling the mind. The mind does not, in its womb, hold seeds of pain as sensual pleasures do, but purges itself of impurities because it merges in its source as fire does when not fed with fuel. On the mind becoming still and disappearing into the primal source of bliss, there arises the Supreme Peace which holds out till final emancipation.

(*Concluded*)

MYSORE DEWAN ON "GĀRGIS" AND "MAITRĒYĪS"

By Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, I.S.O.

Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.St.J., Dewan of Mysore, in his recent thought-provoking address at the celebration of the College Association Day of the Maharani's College for Women, Bangalore, said that Swami Vivekanandji was anxious to establish a Maṭha for Women in India, the aim of which would be to produce "Gārgis" and "Maitrēyīs".

India is often described as "the Cradle of Philosophy". Professor Max Müller was delighted when he was called by the Pandits of India as Gotheertha Vāsi [(in Sanskrit) *Go*—Ox; *theertham*—ford; *vāsi*—resident)—Resident of Oxford !], Mokeśa Moola Bhattacārya, called the Hindus "a Nation of Philosophers".

To what high pinnacle of Philosophy, Gārgi (the daughter of Vacaknu) reached, can be inferred from the series of learned questions she put to Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, in his informative work *Men and Thought in Ancient India*, says that Yājñavalkya was the typical and the most historical example of Vedic thought, the fountain-head, and perhaps, the high water-mark, too, of the entire stream of Indian thought. As the outstanding figure of a highly intellectual age, to which humanity owes some of its best literary treasures, and as the chief exponent of the saving knowledge of the Upaniṣads, Yājñavalkya took the rank as "the Father of Hindu Philosophy".

King Janaka of Videha (father of Sītā of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) convened a Congress of the leading philosophers of his time. Yājñavalkya was elected as its President, and a number of learned champions, one of whom was a lady, took part in the discussions. This lady was Gārgi. She was a state guest at the Court of Janaka. The proceedings of this Philosophical Congress are recorded in the *Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. It

is stated that at the Congress there were questions and answers, theories and solutions of the intricate problems relating to the mysteries of life. The following extract is from Dr. Mookerji's book referred to above :—

Gārgi

"The next challenge comes from a woman, Gārgi, the daughter of Vacaknu, who first puts a series of questions, culminating in a topic that is beyond the scope of discussion and exposes her own lack of knowledge. She thus keeps silence for a while, but again returns to the fray, saying :

"As an heroic youth from Kāṣi or Videha bends his unbent bow and takes two deadly arrows in his hand, I have armed myself against thee, O Yājñavalkya, with two questions, which solve for me."

She was so sure about the difficulty of the two questions that she openly declared before the learned assembly that, if Yājñavalkya answered them, he would prove himself invincible against all opponents.

The two questions were on Brahman, described as limitless in Time and Space, but in whom exist Time and Space.

Yājñavalkya defines Brahman "as the *Akṣara*, Indestructible, who is devoid of the attributes pertaining to ordinary matter, such as gross or subtle, great or small ; who is not red like fire nor fluid like water ; neither shadowy nor dark ; not wind, and not ether ; not adhesive (unmixed with anything), existing by itself, without taste, smell, eyes, ears, speech, understanding ; without light or breath ; without a mouth (door) leading to something else ; without size and neither a measure nor measurable ; without inside or outside ; and neither consuming nor consumable.

This Akṣara Brahman keeps in order and functioning the Sun and Moon, Earth and Heaven ; moments and hours, days and nights, half-months, months, seasons, and years ; He keeps rivers in their courses towards different directions ; and it is He who secures to the doer the fruits of his deeds, and connects causes and effects, though apart in time. That Brahman is

unseen, but all-seeing ; unheard, but all-hearing ; unperceived, but all-perceiving ; unknown, but all-knowing ; and the primary principle that enables Vision, Audition, Perception and Cognition."

At the conclusion of this discourse, Gārgi said : " Venerable Brahmans, you may consider it a great thing if you can now get off by simply bowing before him ; no one, I am sure, can ever even dream of defeating him in any argument concerning Brahman " and saying this, she held her peace.

Maitrēyi

Yājñavalkya had two wives—Maitrēyī and Kātyāyinī. The former was indoctrinated by him in the mysteries of religion and philosophy. Dr. Mookerji states in his own scholarly style that Yājñavalkya resolving to leave the life of a house-holder for that of penance in the forest, one day called Maitrēyī and announced his intention as follows :—

Yājñavalkya.—Maitrēyī, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kātyāyinī.

Maitrēyī.—My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth belonged to me, tell me should I be immortal by it, or no ?

Yājñavalkya.—No, like the life of rich people, will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.

Maitrēyī.—What should I do with that, by which I do not become immortal ? What my Lord knoweth of immortality, tell that clearly to me.

Yājñavalkya.—Thou who art truly dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear to me in thee. Therefore, if thou like, lady, I will explain it to thee and mark well what I say.

Then, Yājñavalkya proceeds to explain to her his doctrine of Ātman thus :

" The husband is dear to the wife not for the husband's sake, but for the sake of the Ātman ; similarly is the wife dear to the husband not for her sake, but for the sake of the Ātman. So also Sons, Wealth, Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Gods, Vedas and the Universe, are all dear, not on their own account, but for the sake of the self."

The meaning is that all objects and relations of the Universe exist for us, and are known and loved by us only in so far as they enter into our consciousness, which comprehends in itself all the objects of the Universe and has nothing outside of itself. Therefore, it is stated further: "The self in truth we should comprehend, should reflect upon, O Maitrēyī. He who has seen, heard, comprehended and known the self, by him this entire Universe is known."

"As the notes of a drum, a conchshell, or a lute has no existence in themselves, and can only be received when the instrument that produces them is struck, so all objects and relations of the Universe are known by him who knows the Ātman. From this great Being were breathed forth, like clouds of smoke from fire kin led with damp fuel, the Vedas and other subjects of knowledge, nay, food and drink, even this world, and the other world, and all creatures.

As all waters have their meeting place in the sea, all touch in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all odours in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all precepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all Vedas in the speech.

As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus, indeed, has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge."

After this, Yājñavalkya propounds the paradoxical proposition, "After death, there is no consciousness."

Maitrēyī.—Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him (the self).

Yājñavalkya.—"I assure you, Maitrēyī, I say nothing that is bewildering. For where there is, as it were, a duality (in reality there is not), there one sees the other, smells, hears, addresses, comprehends, and knows the other; but where everything has become to him his own self, how should he smell, see, hear, address, understand, or know any one at all? How should he know him, through whom he knows all this, how should he know the knower? Thus, O Maitrēyī, thou hast been instructed."

To quote the learned Doctor again : It is worthy of note that women were not denied their share in that intellectual life. They were admitted to public debates in learned conferences in which they could play active parts ; they developed philosophical positions of their own, which they were free to expound and establish in such conferences ; this liberty of life and learning enjoyed by the women of Ancient India ought to be recalled in later times.

I may add that from Gārgi and Maitrēyī, the present world may understand the glorious position held by women in Ancient India in the field of learning. In modern India, even with modern civilisation, they forget that

> Woman's cause is man's : they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or god-like, bond or free.

Sir Mirza hit the right nail on the head when he had quoted Vivekananda's pertinent remark that it was not possible for a bird to fly with one wing. I should like to add that man and woman are like two eyes—one of them should not be defective or blind. In Europe, as well as in India, the woman is styled " the half of the man "—in Europe as " the better half "; in India, simply as " *Ardhāngini* " (*literally* half-self).

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

New Series—No. III

On the Cult of the Banyan and the Pipal Trees

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Banyan-tree (*Ficus indica*) is known in Bengali as the *Vaṭa*. The Pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is known in the same language as *Aśvattha*. Both these trees belong to the Order *Urticaceæ*. They are two of the commonest trees of the Indian country-side and are regarded as sacred by the Hindus because a benevolent spirit or being of incorporeal essence is believed by them to dwell in the same. The Hindus perform certain rites for the purpose of propitiating the said spirits: and the performance of these rites may be said to constitute the cult of the Banyan and the Pipal trees. These sacred trees may be found all over Bengal. In this paper, I shall deal with the cult connected with two of these trees which have acquired great local celebrity and grow in the districts of Pabna and Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

The first of these trees is a big banyan tree (*Vaṭa gāchha*) which grows in the village of Chatmohar, a station on the Iswardih-Serajgunj Branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway. It stands near the meeting point of two roads. It is locally known under the curious designation of *Tenāchorā Vaṭagāchh*, that is to say, "the banyan tree which steals or appropriates rags". The name is given to it on account of the fact that small pieces of rags hang from the lower branches of this tree.[1]

The second tree is a pair consisting of a banyan and a pipal tree growing together. It is growing in a village named Kumārbhog in the Vikrampur Subdivision of the Dacca District. Persons going past this pair of trees tie sheaves of straw to the branches thereof. It is said that the passersby make these offerings of straw to these trees in compliance with the behests of a local holy man named Monāi Faqir who was, in some way or other, associated with these trees. This *Faqir*

[1] *Vide* the *Indian Culture* for January 1936, p. 565.

is reported to have performed several miracles and, thereby, gained the esteem and reverence of both Hindu and the Musalmān residents of the locality.[2]

From an analysis of the foregoing cult-rites, we find that:—(*a*) Animism lies at the basis of the belief which has given rise to it. Sir E. B. Taylor has defined "Animism" as being a belief in spiritual beings which include souls, spirits and ghosts. He further says that it is quite distinct from "Animatism" which is the attribution of life and personality to things but not of a separate and apparitional soul. This being so, we think that the offerings of rags and straw are made at Chatmohar and Kumārbhog not to the banyan and the pipal trees themselves, but to some benevolent and animistic beings which reside in them. At both these places, the in-dwelling spirits have not yet been dubbed with any name. In some places in Bengal, these beings of incorporeal essence have been dubbed with the names of either a goddessling or of a *Pir* or Musalmān holy man. For instance, in the district of Bogra in Eastern Bengal, this animistic being is called *Burhi* or the goddessling "Old Dame," who is believed to dwell in Sheorā trees (*Streblus asper*). On the occasion of the performance of the ceremony called the "*Burhi Puja*", offerings of sugar-waters and milk are made to the said tree.[3] In the district of Malda in Northern Bengal, the same being of incorporeal essence has been endowed with the name of a Muhammadan holy man and is called *Tenā Pir* or "the saint of rags and tatters"; and, in his honour, strips of cloth are tied to trees at the haltingplaces (in the Bārīnd) by the carters who bring rice from the neighbouring district of Dinajpur. In this instance, the spiritual being is believed to dwell in the trees to which the rags are tied.[4]

(*b*) In the next place, Contagious Magic lies behind the cult-rites described above. Sir J. G. Frazer has defined

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 568.

[3] Vide *The Gazetteer of Bogra*, by J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. Allahabad: Printed at the Pioneer Press, 1910, p. 34.

[4] Vide *The Gazetteer of Malda*, by G. E. Lambourn, I.C.S. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretarat Book Depot, 1918, p. 29.

Contagious Magic to be Sympathetic Magic based on a material connection between things. There prevails among different races of people living in various parts of the globe, the belief that the objects which were related to one another retain their connection even though they may be separated ; and whatever may happen to one part or object, a similar thing or effect will happen to the other part or object. Thus, by acting upon a part of a given whole, we may influence the whole as well as all its other parts. Under the influence of this belief, a magician or witch, who desires to influence or act upon some particular person, is anxious to obtain some part of his or her body or some other object actually connected with him or her. The things so desired may be either a few hairs from his beard or moustache, a lock of hair from his or her head, his or her nail-parings, or a drop of blood from his or her nose, which may have fallen to the ground and which has not been rendered impalpable by effacing it with the foot. These objects are used by sorcerers and witches who are desirous of influencing other persons by their nefarious magical art.

On a consideration of the foregoing belief, Sir Sidney Hartland says: "An uneducated folk might argue thus: if an article of my clothing in a witch's hand may cause me to suffer, the same article in contact with a beneficent power may relieve pain, restore me to health, or promote my general prosperity. Hence the practice of throwing pins into wells, *of tying rags on bushes and trees*, of driving nails into trees and stocks of throwing stones, and sticks on carvans and the analogous practices throughout the world, suggests that they are to be interpreted as acts of ceremonial union with the spirit identified with the well, trees, stock or cavern."[5]

In the light of the foregoing ingenious theory suggested by Sir Sidney Hartland, I think that the offerings of rags and straw sheaves made to the banyan and the pipal trees at hatmohar and Kumārbhog are nothing but acts of ceremonial union with the benevolent spirits who dwell in those trees and

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[5] Vide *Magic and Fetishism*, by A. C. Haddon, SC.D., F.R.S. London : Constable & Co., Ltd., 1910, pp. 2–14.

that these "*acts of ceremonial union*" are resorted to by the passers by and other persons for the purposes of obtaining immunity from all sorts of troubles and tribulations, both physical and mental.

(*c*) The next point of importance is that, in the instance of the tree-cult at Kumārbhog, it is a Musalmān holy man who instructs his other co-religionists to make offerings of sheaves of straw to the banyan and the pipal trees both of which are regarded as sacred by the Hindus. What is the reason of this anti-Islamic act ? The answer to this question is that a large proportion of the Musalmāns of Eastern and Northern Bengal are converts from Hinduism. They mostly belong to the lower classes of Muhammadans and are illiterate. They call themselves *Nasyas* which is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Nāśta* or "One who has been polluted by eating forbidden food". In spite of having embraced Islam, they still practise many Hindu rites and ceremonies. Take, for instance, the District of Rajshahi (in Northern Bengal) in which many low-class Muhammadans observe many rites which are distinctly Hindu in their character. This will be evident from the following testimony of the author of the *Gazetteer* of that District:—"Certain customs observed by the lower classes of ignorant Muhammadans are tinged by Hindu superstitions. If a child is ill, the *Padma Purāṇa*, a Hindu religious book, is recited ; and if there is a cattle-disease, *Gorakher Lāru* (? *Larāi*) is sung. During the marriage ceremony, a sort of *pūja* called *Mangalcandījay* is observed. Pictures are painted on walls ; milk, plantains and *sindur* (vermilion) are placed on the floor ; incense is burnt ; and women sing throughout the night from evening to morning. The general belief is that such a ceremony brings *mangal* or good fortune to the bride and the bridegroom. Another ceremony, *Ashān Pūjā*, is performed if property is lost, if a person gets any disease or illness (specially rheumatism and gout), or if there is any litigation over landed property. The man who celebrates it is called the *Brahmadaitya Bābā*. Milk and plantains are procured ; a bell is rung by the Faqir ; and the Faqir while

muttering incantations winnows black paddy. *Ashān Kāra* takes place at night and the Faqir invokes the aid of the *Brahmadaitya*, *i.e.*, the spirit of a deceased Brāhman."[6]

Similarly, in the district of Bogra, which is adjacent to Rajshahi, the *Nasyas* perform the ceremony of *Burir-Pūjā* by offering milk and sugar to the *Sheorhā* tree (*Streblus aspera*).[7]

(*d*) A close analogue of the custom of offering sheaves of straw to the tree-spirit at Kumārbhog is that of tying band of straw to chests and trunks, the earthen-jar receptacles of rice and earthenware platter on which the rice-cake called *Aśke* is placed, on the occasion of the *Pauṣ-saṃkrānti* festival which is celebrated on the last day of the Bengali month of Paush (December-January). This day falls about the middle of the English month of January. These bands of straw are tied to the aforementioned objects on the day preceding the festival day to the accompaniment of the chanting of the following verse :—

१. आंडनि वाडनि ।
२. पिटे भात खाडनि ॥
३. तिन दिन कोथाओ ना थेओ ।
४. घरे वसे पिठे भात खेओ ।

English Translation

1 and 2. The *Āuni Bāuni* (or *Paush-Saṃkrānti* Festival) is the occasion for eating boiled rice and rice-cakes.

3 and 4. During the three days (*i.e.*, the festival day and the two following days), you should not go anywhere else but stay at home and eat boiled rice and rice-cakes.

On the actual festival day, cakes of powdered rice, pulses and grated cocoanut are prepared and eaten with molasses. The bands of straw are tied to the aforementioned articles by way of offering to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and rice, and all other commodities which bring wealth.

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[6] Vide *The Gazetteer of Rajshahi*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta : The Secretariat Book Depot, 1916, p. 66.

[7] Vide *The Gazetteer of Bogra*, by J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. Allahabad : Printed at the Pioneer Press, 1910, p. 34.

REVIEWS

Humāyūn Bādshāh. (By S. K. Banerji. Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay. Price Rs. 8.)

MORE than ten years since the thesis for the Doctorate of Philosophy of the London University was approved this volume dealing with Humāyūn the Mughul, Shēr Shāh the Afghān, and Bahadur the Gujarāti was published. Their political achievements and their contribution to culture and administration have been fairly assessed. The study is purposeful and practical besides being of academic interest; particularly at a time when it was essential that Indians belonging to diverse creeds and faiths should know the infiltration of the Mughul culture and civilization through Indian society for six centuries at least. Humāyūn's birth in 1508 established Bābur's position as a man seeking and establishing peace and order and trying to maintain the continuity of his line. Humāyūn played a responsible part in the battle of Pāṇipat in 1526 and then undertook the Eastern campaign against the Afghāns. He succeeded his father to the kingdom in 1530 and the intrigues usual on such occasions in those days was unsuccessful in spite of high support. Humāyūn had evidently no instinct for conquest but he had to pursue the policy of continued military expeditions against the Afghāns while at the same time he undertook prudent administrative measures amongst the different classes of people without distinction and attempted to spread the Mughul culture in all parts of the kingdom. It was believed that the culture of the Mughul was superior to that of the Afghān. A feeling for provincial autonomy was another problem for which Humāyūn had to seek a solution and his rival and brother-in-law and also Shēr Khān the Afghān, gave him enormous trouble in his wide territories. His step-brother Kamran who was in charge of the Government of Kabul and Qandahar also joined them. In 1533 the foundation of the new city in Delhi called Dīn-Pānah was laid. His campaign at Gujarāt was associated with some cruelty and led to

the loss of Mālwa and Gujarāt soon after. The chapter dealing with Shēr Khān is carefully prepared and is well worth study. The difference in character and equipment between Shēr Khān and Humāyūn are well brought out. Amongst the women captives of Shēr Khān was Bēga-Bēgam, the principal queen of Humāyūn. In the midst of confusion and slaughter that prevailed everywhere, Shēr Khān made arrangements for her protection and safety, also issuing a general order forbidding the killing or enslaving of Mughul women or children, and directing them to be sent to Bēga-Bēgam's pavilion where guards were posted to protect them from injury. When Shēr Khān became king he sent these refugees home and restored Bēga-Bēgam together with a statement that no violence had been committed on her or on any other Mughul woman. The queen was received back by Humāyūn. Shēr Khān's magnanimity had got him the throne. His system of administration became celebrated during the few years of his rule. He assimilated all the good features of the Mughul administration maintaining at the same time personal touch with the people, protecting them against official malfeasance, maintaining the Mughul Dīn-Pānah as capital and effecting several other improvements, *viz.* personal supervision of the administrative machinery, systematic revenue settlement, erection of forts throughout the country for the protection of the ryots, garrisoning them with small detachments of *fauj* and opening roads which led to improvement of trade. We look forward to the second volume which we have no doubt will be as interesting as this.

S. S.

The Jesuits in Malabar—Vol. I. (By Father D. Ferroli, S.J. Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, 1939. Price Rs. 3–8–0.)

Introduced by a well-worded preface by His Lordship the Bishop of Calicut, this work is a fitting contribution from India to the celebrations in honour of the IV Centenary of the Foundation of the Society of Jesus.

The work is well-planned. An Introductory Chapter is devoted to *the land and the people as described in contemporary documents of the sixteenth and the seventeenth Centuries*. It will be particularly appreciated by lovers of anthropology and folklore, though evidently not all the statements made by hasty travellers, like Della Valle, can be taken as well-established facts.

Chapter I, *Christianity in Malabar and in South Kanara before the advent of the Portuguese*, will surely invite criticism from Malabar historians. Father Ferroli is too much of an historian either to condemn the apostolic origin of the Malabar Church, or its uninterrupted orthodoxy, or to make documents say more than they actually purport to state. On the other hand, to conclude the whole question, as he does on p. 71, by saying that he does not think that the Indian Christians were not *Formal* heretics may prove somewhat unsatisfactory.

Chapter II is given to *the coming of the Portuguese*, and does full justice to the greatness and generosity of that great people.

The subject of the book really begins in Chapter III, the coming of St. Francis Xavier and his fellow Jesuits, and is continued in the following chapters—Syrian Bishops in Malabar; Events preceeding the Synod of Diamper and the Synod itself; the Zamorin and the Jesuits; the Jesuits at Home; the first and the second Latin Bishop of the Thomas Christians; Pastoral Work; Martyrs of Christ. A special chapter is devoted to the work and literary activity of Father Fenicio whose glory has been recently vindicated from the plagiarism of the Dutch Baldaeus.

It is difficult for the reviewer to single out gems in a book where they are found so abundantly. Both missionaries and historians will find the reading of *The Jesuits in Malabar* most interesting and will only long for Volumes II and III. The notes which the author adds at the end of each chapter show his deep acquaintance with the subject and will introduce many a reader into unknown fields of the history of Christianity in India. The great apostolic men whom the Society of Jesus has given to India are splendidly portrayed by Father Ferroli—the

Venerable Father Criminali, the First Martyr of the Society in India; St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the whole East; Father Fenicio; Father Laerzio; Father de Nobili—to mention but stars of the first magnitude.

On the other hand, Father Ferroli does not write to edify—he describes men as they actually were, and tells things as they happened. No wonder, then, if we read off squabbles between the various Religious Orders, of the exaggerated nationalism of some of the Portuguese Jesuits and of their opposition to their Italian Brethren, of meetings which were not *Concilia*, but *Conciliabula*.

One or two remarks in view of a future edition of this most valuable work. For the sake of non-Catholic readers and of readers not thoroughly acquainted with the subject, one would like greater consciousness. On p. 50 Jesuits and Paulists are mentioned as if they were two different bodies of men.

A. A., S.J.

Talks with Svāmi Vivekānanda. (Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Price Rs. 1–12–0.)

It is a privilege to read or to speak or to hear of anything about Svāmi Vivekānanda who enriched our knowledge of Advaita and enhanced the prestige of India by making the foreigners realise for the first time that there was something which India could contribute to the ideals of the West. Perhaps there is no cultured Indian who has not heard or read the address of Svāmiji to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago where the true spirit of Hindu culture, the inwardness of the Hindu movement and the background of toleration were first adumbrated in true and proper perspective. How are we to get out of this cycle of birth and death, this vast ocean of *samsāra*? Liberation or *samādhi* consists simply in doing away with the obstacles to the manifestation of Brahman. The real guru is he who leads you beyond this *Māya* of endless birth and death,

—who graciously destroys all the griefs and maladies of the soul. Just as the *Ghatākāśa*, when the jar is broken becomes a *Mahākāśa*—for with the destruction of the jar the enclosed space is not destroyed, the puny 'I' which you were thinking of as confined in the jar becomes spread out and realised in the form of the all-pervading 'I' or the self. Be pure in body, mind and speech always, strongly devoted, discriminating between the real and the unreal. Renunciation is the very soul of the Upaniṣads. Illumination born of discriminative reflection is the ultimate aim of Upaniṣadic knowledge. The belief, however, is that it was since the time of the Buddha that the monastic vow was preached more thoroughly all over India, and renunciation or the giving up of sense-enjoyment was recognised as the highest aim of a religious life. And Hinduism has absorbed into itself the Buddhistic spirit of renunciation. Never was a greater man of such renunciation born in this world than the Buddha. To realise the highest, unable to acquire the peace he wanted from the *yogis* and *sadhus* of his days, he fell back on his own exertions and sat on a spot, with the famous words 'Let my body wither away on this seat,' and rose from it after he became the Buddha, the illumined one. All the many *maths* that you now see in India occupied by monks were once Buddhist. The institution of *Sannyāsa* originated with the Buddha. Wheresoever might lie the origin of *sannyāsa*, the goal of human life is to become a knower of Brahman, by embracing this vow of renunciation. The supreme end is to enter the life of *sannyāsa*. They alone are blessed indeed, who have broken off from worldly renunciation. Svāmiji looked on Advaita as the crest of all philosophies and could not bear any criticisms on it. Śankara's intellect was sharp like the razor—he was a good argumentator and a scholar. Talking on pilgrimages Svāmiji says that the whole world is a born universe of the Eternal Ātman, the Īśvara. What is there to wonder at in special influences attaching to particular places, where He manifests Himself specially, either spontaneously or through the earnest longing of pure souls, and the ordinary man visiting those places with

eagerness attains his end quite easily but there is no greater *tīrtha* or holy spot than the body of man. He who thinks himself free, free he becomes ; he who thinks himself bound, bound he remains. The conclusion of the Vedānta is that with absolute *samādhi* and cessation of all modifications, there is no return from that state but the *Avatārs* cherish a few desires for the good of the world. By taking help of that thread they may come down from the super-conscious to the conscious state. A disciple asks if I am the Brahmin why don't I always realise it and the Svāmiji answers that in order to attain that realisation in the conscious plane some instrumentality is required. The mind is that instrument in us. But it is a non-intelligent substance. It only appears to be intelligent through the light of the Ātman behind. Therfore, the author of *Pañcadaṣi* says that the Śakti appears to be intelligent by the reflection of the intelligence of the Ātman. Hence the mind also appears to us like an intelligent substance. Therefore, it is certain that you would not be able to know the Ātman, the essence of intelligence, through the mind and you have to go behind it as there is no instrument beyond mind—for only the Ātman exists there, there the object of knowledge becomes the same as the instrument of knowledge. The knower, knowledge and the instrument of knowledge become one and the same. Through what are you to know the Eternal Subject ? The real fact is that there is a state beyond the conscious plane, where there is no duality of the knower, knowledge and the instrument of knowledge. When the mind is merged the state is perceived. Language cannot express that state. One proof of the fact that *Māya* or mind is an illusion is, when the mind by itself is non-intelligent and of the nature of darkness and it is the light of the Ātman behind that makes it appear as intelligent. When you will understand this the mind will merge in the unbroken ocean of intelligence ; then you will realise that Ātman is the Brahman.

S. S.

The Shrine of Wisdom, Perpetual Festival Calendar.
(Published by the Shrine of Widsom, London.)

The Shrine of Wisdom as the legend of Rā and Isis goes, gives a Perpetual Festival Calendar. I am the maker of hours, the creator of days and opener of the yearly Festival, Kephera in the darkness and Rā at mid-day and Tum in the evening for January and so on, as the various scriptures of the world inform us. Whatsoever thou doest, whatsoever thou givest, whatsoever thou offerest, whatsoever thou doest of austerity, do thou as an offering unto me. How silent is Tao, how mysteriously hidden, yet how sought for. Tao does all things yet appearing to do nothing and no sound is heard of him yet he makes and unmakes as he who grasps lets go. That is why the self-controlled man by inner life can make and by inner life unmake and by inner life grasp and by inner life let go. Ye are my children, I am your father, says Buddha, through me ye are released from your sufferings. All component things are subject to death and decay but truth will remain for ever. Work out your salvation with diligence. Lord of the East and West, no God is there but He, according to the Prophet Muhammad, so take Him for thy protection, who hath a better religion than he who resigneth himself to Allah. Never sleep to close the eye-lids after retiring for a night until thou hast examined all thy actions of the day says Pythagoras and Thomas-a-Kempis muses that as He gently shows Himself in signs and figures while to some He reveals mysteries in much light. Zoroaster is the protector, life-giver, nourisher, knower, and Augustine says men and women go on, persevere unto the end. Praise the Lord more sweetly, whom ye honour more richly, hope more happily in Him Whom ye serveth more instantly, love more ardently Him Whom ye please more attentively. Expand thyself unto the immeasurable greatness, passing beyond body and transcending time—enter into the Eternal for to him who overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the Paradise of God. The *Calendar* will be a useful remembrance of the greatest events in the world.

S. S.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. I, No. 1. (Published Four times in a year. Copies can be had of the Managing Editor, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona 6. Annual Subscription Rs. 12. Post free.)

WE heartily welcome this *Bulletin* into the field of Oriental Journalism and congratulate Khatre, the Managing Editor, for his readily undertaking to edit this *Bulletin* in spite of his multifarious enagagements. The *Bulletin* opens with a *Foreword* by R. P. Masani, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, which is followed by 'Epic Questions' by Sukthankar, who is mostly responsible for the edition of the Mahabharata Series published under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, wherein he discusses whether Indra assumed the form of a swan and comes to the conclusion that it is nothing more than a *canard*, and Khatre provides us with further knowledge on the use of *iyāt* in his article 'Apropos Epic *Iyāt*'. 'The Ṛg Veda Mantras in Their Ritual Settings in the Gṛhya Sūtras' running up to thirty pages is an interesting contribution from Apte. Sankalia in an illustrative article deals with the sculptures and inscriptions of two Gold-gilt Copper Boards, which are said to be covers of two Buddhist manuscripts—*Prajñāpāramita* and *Pancārākṣa.* The boards, we are given to understand, were recently acquired for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute. The boards are of unequal size. The obverse of the bigger board contains five figures of Dhyāni Buddhas from Nepal and the reverse of this board contains some inscriptions divided into sections by three engraved figures. The smaller board is likely decorated with figures of five multi-headed figures identified to be Dhyāni Buddhas or Bodhisattvas on the obverse and the reverse is identical with that of the former board but the central figure engraved differs. Both the inscriptions are dated the seven hundred and twenty-eighth Samvat of the Nepali Era, recording the donation of the books *Prajñāpāramita* and *Pancārākṣa* (In manuscript) by Mānasimha of the Śākya family who lived at

Lalitapaṭṭna in Nepal, with the object of obtaining wealth, happiness, etc. The inscriptions according to the author, are in old Nepali or incorrect Sanskrit language, in prose. The name of the donee however is not given. The sculptures are identified to be Buddhist as they form part of the boards of the manuscripts *Prajñāpāramita* and *Pancārākṣa.* Besides, the *Bulletin* contains many more interesting articles by eminent scholars who are post-graduates of the Deccan College, concluded by an article dealing with the Geographic Factor in the History of Mahāraṣtra by Shewalkar.

H. R.

Prabuddha Bhārata, January 1940, Vol. XLV, No. 1. (May be obtained from The Manager, Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, Annual Subscription Rs. 4. Post free.)

With the present number under review the *Prabuddha Bhārata* enters the forty-fifth year of its useful work in awakening the Indian Mind. The pride of place is given to 'the Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna' which is followed by '*Prāṇāyāma*' an interesting class lesson by Svāmi Vivekānanda. The influence of Upaniṣadic Teachings on the life and work of the eminent sons of India and the necessity of directing philosophical thoughts toward the essentials of life in all phases are dealt with in the Editorial under the caption 'On the Threshold of A New Era'. Prof. Srivastava in the course of his article 'Svāmi Vivekānanda—The Prophet of New India', points out how his advent developed in the people the feeling of national self-respect, the main foundation-stone for freedom and national reconstruction. A close study of 'Mysticism and Poetic Moods' is made by Prof. Bose. 'Worship and Meditation' is another thoughtful article. A detailed study of the forest Universities of ancient India is given by Chakravarthy. The illustrated article by Kalekar on 'The Master and His Disciples' is a glorious tribute to the order of Śri Ramakrishna. Mahendranath Sircar deals on 'Reason and Revelation'. Prof. Wacha expounds, in a very

short and interesting note, how religious mysticism helps people to rise above the social barriers and this is followed by three other contributions from well-known scholars. We are confident that this *Journal* will do still greater service in awakening the minds of Indians during the years to come.

H. R.

Kannada Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency (South Indian Inscriptions Texts, Vol. IX, Pt. 1). (By Dr. R. Shama Sastri. Published by the Manager of Publications, New Delhi. Price Rs. 24–4–0 or 37*s.*)

We are grateful to Dr. Shama Sastri, the distinguished scholar and retired Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and Mr. Lakshminarayana Rao for editing and publishing the Kannada Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IX, Part I, excellently got up and beautifully printed. The arrangement according to the dynasties is clear and understandable. In No. 318 on p. 333 a queen of Vīra Ballāḷa is referred to as Śāntaledēvī, apparently an error. The reference to the capital of the Hoysaḷas as Dōrasamudra is interesting. While the Hoysaḷa kings were known as Dvarāvathīpuravarādhīśvarās their capital was invariably referred to as Dōrasamudra. In No. 333 a general and minister of the king named Mādhava is praised as a great warrior (1214–15 A.D.). A number of inscriptions refer to several teachers of the Lakulīśa sect whose names end with Śakti or Rāśi. No. 343 like some other inscriptions extols the Hoysaḷa dynasty and traces the descent from the eponymous Saḷa. In No. 353 belonging to February 17, 1317, in the reign of the Hoysaḷa king, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Tiparasa is stated to be the son of Vīra Ballāḷa III. No. 354 dated September 1, 1320, in the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Ballāḷa III, records the death of Mahāsāmantādhipati Hiriya Bommeya Nāyaka, son of Gaṅgeya Nāyaka of Hoḷakallu, in a fight against the cavalry of the chief of Mēlumāvu, when Aḷiya Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka,

the prime minister of the king, *i.e.* Ballāḷa III was ruling at Penugoṇḍe. In No. 355 dated July 9, 1323, belonging to Ballāḷa III, his chief Aḷiya Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka makes the gift of land according to a stone set up in the Hindupur Taluk. No. 357 is dated August 7, 1328, in which the prime minister Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka who was ruling at the residential capital of Penugoṇḍe makes the gift of a village Beṇagūru to Nāgeya Gauda and others. No. 358 is dated September 2, 1340, belonging to the same reign when his chief minister Īśvara Daṇṇāyaka, son of Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka, makes a gift as Koḍagi to Gopa Gavuṇḍan. No. 359 dated the same year registers excavation of a tank called Haṁpeya Doṇe in the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa III ruling from Dōrasamudra. The excavation was done by Chikka Bommaya Nāyaka, son of Gaṅgeya Nāyaka, who was governing Nidugalla-rājya. These go to probabilise that Hampe was included in the Hoysaḷa Kingdom during the reign of Ballāḷa III and justify the contention that Vijayanagara was in the Karnātaka country and that Ballāḷa III had something to do with its foundation. No. 371, dated 1258–59, suggests that as required by the times the Brahmans of those days were ready to take up arms. 120 Brahman mahājanās of Pūvina-Paḍaṅgle, who are described as very learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras, performing Agnihōtra and Aupāsana and as *Ripukula-kadalīvana-kuñjarar* and *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-panjarar*, that is, destructive to the enemies as elephants to the forest plaintain trees and mail armour to those who seek shelter under them, made a gift of various plots of land of specified boundary for the service of the God Kusumanatha of the village. No. 395 dated 1261, November 27, refers to the joint rule of the Queen Paṭṭamahādévi and King Vīra Pāṇḍyadēv-Ālapēndradēva and states that when Voḍḍama Srīdēva, other officers and priests had assembled, the three hundred of the town Kuḍikūru, set up the inscription fixing the total revenue of the village at one hundred and eighty *gadyāṇas*.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—1937 Annual Report.
(The Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore.)

Dr. Krishna deserves to be congratulated for publishing, in rapid succession, the *Mysore Archæological Reports* and we are confident it will not be long before the Reports are up-to-date. The image of Durga at Hale-Aḷur in the Deseśvara temple is a striking specimen of vigorous Cōḷa workmanship, seated on a boar as Dr. Krishna himself observes on page 52 referring to a similar image. The Gandabherunda on a pillar in the pond at Santebennur makes interesting study. What is the date of this sculpture and when was the Gandabherunda adopted as a crest for the first time in Mysore history are very intriguing questions on which light has yet to be thrown. The sculpture of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar in Para-Vasudeva temple at Gundlupet is life-like. A museum of coins with proper arrangements carefully analysed is a desideratum in the State. Dr. Krishna, himself a numismatist of note, has been making a thorough study of coins in his Reports and this year he deals with Pāṇḍya coins. Wherefrom were these coins got ? Are they a set of coins which have been sent from elsewhere or were they discovered in Mysore territory ? What is the bearing of these coins on the study of Mysore history ? I have seen private collections outside the State. Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari, for example, has a very fine and remarkable collection of coins and his Mysore collection is a type which, for sustained interest, earnestness and enthusiasm as well as prodigious industry in coin collecting, is unrivalled. Under manuscripts, Memoirs of Hyder Ally from the year 1758 to 1770 by Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, is given. It was purchased in London by the late Sardar Balraj Urs and the date of the manuscript appears to be 1770. Perhaps, the author left Hyder's services at that time. On page 83 of the Report there is a reference to Hyder's unscrupulousness in killing his mother with his own hands. What is the corroboration we have on this point ? Take, again, Hyder's murder of King Nanjaraja Wodeyar. The annals of the Mysore

Royal Family and the *Hyder-Nāma* do not mention it. Was Nanjaraj strangled in the bath at Hyder's instigation as Wilks says or was he poisoned as Peixoto says? Dr. Krishna says since the author was a contemporary in Hyder's army, we may believe his statement. What occasion had the author and what access had he to gather accurate and correct information on these matters? On page 105, it is said that the king of Seringapatam had died by this time, Nanjaraj now claimed the throne and sent word to Hyder that if the kingdom was not delivered to him he would go to war. The Rāja, whom Hyder avoided, conspired with the Marāthās to regain his territory. These are matters which require careful sifting and further examination. At page 114, while preparations were being made for the weddings of Tippu, the son of the Rāja Nanjaraj and Rāja Saheb, it was also rumoured that Hyder too would marry. The author adds he had already three wives and concubines upwards of four thousand who had been distributed all over the country but principally housed at Bednur, Bangalore and Seringapatam. The concubines were of all castes; there were even European mistresses among them. Since their number was great he could not communicate with them all. Besides these concubines, the Nawab would also amuse himself with others who were brought to him by force on pain of death. These again are sought to be corroborated from *Hyder-Nāma*. On this point, I would invite the attention of the readers to my observations concerning the *Hyder-Nāma* in the *QJMS*. Vol. XXIV, pp. 315–318. The conservation of the pillar and pond in Santebennur has been very good and considerable sums have been spent in improving them. The beautifully sculptured pond at Hulikere was visited by the Dewan who was considerably impressed with it and its renovation has been sanctioned. I have had the advantage of visiting this beautiful pond soon after the Dewan's visit and I was very much gratified with the work which was undertaken. This pond reminds us of the lotus pool of Polonoruwa in Ceylon and the Swastic ponds in South India belonging to the time of the Pallavas. Perhaps, the Hoysaḷa pond is later in date

archæologically but its workmanship also is of a very high class, not inferior in design or execution to the star-shaped shrines and temples.

S. S.

Archæological Remains and Excavations at Bairat. (By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C.I.E., M.A., Director of Archæology and Historical Research, Jaipur State, Jaipur. Price Rs. 0–8–0.)

WE congratulate the Jaipur Durbar on following the lead of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Gwalior and for establishing a separate Archæological Department for a systematic study and development of antiquarian work in the State. We have recently published an account in these pages on the Gilgit Excavations in Kashmir from M. S. Kaul Shastri (Vol. XXX, No. 1, pp. 1–12*), with which our readers are familiar. The present is the first report of archæological work in the Jaipur State by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and deals with the archæological remains and excavations at Bairat. It is interesting to note that it is intended to have a systematic research in the Jaipur State with reference to archæological discoveries and pre-historic antiquities and we trust the attempt will be crowned with success. It is to be wished that attention will be given to pre-historic antiquities in other States as well. As things stand except in the Valley of the Indus civilization it does not appear that regular working is proceeding on systematic lines. Individual scholars of great merit have rendered distinguished service and their discoveries and research have led to systematic surveys. Let us hope it will not be long before the State recognises that the search for antiquities, their preservation and study are valuable for human interest and the development of the human personality. Excavations in Bairat are referred to in my review on *Archæological Survey of India, Anual Report*, 1935–36 (Vol. XXX,

* Copies of the Report on the Gilgit Excavations can be had from the General Secretary, Mythic Society, Bangalore City, on payment of Rs. 1–8–0 or 3 *sh.* or 75 cts. Postage extra.

No. I, pp. 135–139). The extensive and high mounds on which the town of Bairat stands would, if it was at all possible to excavate any portion of it, reveal strata upon strata of ancient buildings and sculptures, inscriptions and other antiquities of diverse kinds. Visitors to the ruins of Candravalli near the Ankali Math in Citaldroog (Mysore State) would perhaps express the same but the ruins of Candravalli are in a valley. The Bījak-ki-Pahārī would remind us of a rock containing the inscriptions of Mayuraśarman as told by Dr. Krishna. The coins and the pottery found at Bairat also remind us of the coins and pottery near Citaldroog and of the Aśōkan Edicts within the radius of a few miles of Citaldroog complete the picture. The discovery of the cotton cloth worn by the people of the first century is important and as Mr. Sahni tells us the use of the cotton cloth about 3,000 B.C. in the Indus Valley has been established. The *terra-cotta* objects are of remarkable interest. Chronological classification of Indian pottery is very difficult, for example as difficult as that of cloth. Absence of complete specimens adds to the difficulties but we have very useful information on this topic in this book.

S. S.

The Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas. (By Dr. C. Minakshi,* M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, Madras. Price Rs. 5 or 7*s*. 6*d*.)

IN this book Dr. Minakshi devotes considerable attention to the many aspects of the Pallava kingdom and attempts a reconsideration of several doubtful passages in Pallava history with remarkable success. Whether it is possible to agree with all the interpretations offered in this book or not, we join Prof. Nilakanta Sastry in complementing the author on her excellent contribution to a correct understanding of the life and institutions of the Pallavas during the period which is justly famous as one of the most brilliant in early South Indian history.

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* It is extremely to be regretted that this talented young lady expired at Madras on the third of March 1940.

The meagre and disjointed information available on early Pallava history have not deterred the author on undertaking and accomplishing this difficult task.

It might look at the outset that when we are having a large number of books on the Pallavas recently published by eminent scholars, a new book on this subject would be a superfluity. No body, however, who reads this book will say that it is not a considerable improvement on the old ones, containing a brilliant exposition of the period giving us a considerable insight into the working of the administrative machinery and into the social life of South India under the Pallavas. This book was originally intended for a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and the highly cultured and intelligent authoress feels a certain embarrassment and delicacy in exposition, natural to a student attempting a coveted degree. That however does not detract from the value of the work but in the present case enhances its prestige. Dr. Minakshi seems to accept the famous Mayūraśarman inscription as she says that its palæography surely justifies the date suggested for it. Dealing with this inscription in Chapter XIII at page 187, she says Mayūraśarman seems to have belonged to a much-earlier date, *i.e.* earlier than about the middle of the fifth century claimed for the Talguṇḍa inscription by Rice. On the strength of the newly discovered inscription Moraes in the Kadamba Kula on page 14 gives the dates 345–370 for Mayūraśarman. There is a suggestion that Mayūraśarman was evidently a native of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and may have gone from the Deccan but it would have been better if the basis for this suggestion was indicated. There is no doubt however that Mayūraśarman was a student at Kāñcī though the time suggested for him when he was at Kāñcī may be inaccurate. In foot-note to page 34 to the *History of the Pallavas of South India* Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar who edits the History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī says Kāñcī was famous as a centre of Sanskrit learning noted as a 'Ghaṭikā of Brahmans' in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, particularly when the Kadambas were coming in the view of history as in the story

of Mayūraśarman. Here again the authority is lacking. Gopalan himself on page 69 says that the period of the earliest of the Kadamba kings Mayūraśarman who is described as a Brahmin in the Talgunḍa pillar inscription has been fixed by scholars from internal evidence and palæographical indications as the middle of the fourth century but adds that the chronology of the Kadambas could not be regarded as having been definitely fixed—a view with which we respectfully agree—but in the following passage Gopalan ascribes about 340 A.D. to Mayūraśarman. The Kadamba Prakrit inscription of Malavalli suggests that his Pallava contemporary was either Viṣṇugopa, or Virakurca or Skandavarman I. In any case this does not affect the conclusion that the date of the Pallavas ruling Kāñcī should be fixed somewhere in the first half of the third century A.D. The decline of the Pallava rule followed after several centuries and the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in 890 A.D. completed the fall of the Pallava Kingdom. The authoress discusses the recent research in the chronology of the later Pallavas and concludes that Aparājita was the last of the imperial line of the Pallava kings. As regards the first Pallava king of Kāñcī there is still considerable doubt and the difficulty of identification will be apparent when we look at the discussions in the book. It is to be regretted that it is still not possible to clear up the confusion considering the first Pallava who ruled Kāñcī as well as the origin of the Pallavas which like the origin of many an ancient Indian dynasty is lost in obscurity. I am not enamoured of the totemistic derivation of the Pallavas, although totemism has had perhaps as lasting an influence among all communities and dynasties in India as elsewhere. Rev. Father Heras considers that the Vēlūrpaḷaiyam plates possess the best pedigree and in the best order, a fuller information than in any other palæograph, with the Kaśā Kūdi plates as the second best. If we are to follow the interesting tables worked out by Heras Kālabhatri, Cūtapallava, Drōṇa, Vīrakurca, Asvatthāma would follow in a descending order. The comparisons are very interesting and the Vēlūrpāḷiayam plates are there found associated with Urvapalli plates, the

Udayendiram plates and the Rayakota plates and many others which are referred to. One would like to know, however, whether these great names taken from the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* had anything to do with the origin of the Pallavas and in this, unfortunately, we are at sea. Even about their northern origin there is the same difficulty. Many a South Indian dynasty is also conjectured to be Kurumbar. Evidently all these have some basis in historic association and biographical limits but not one of them could acutally account for a real origin. It may be the Pallava rulers originally came from the north as perhaps the Hoysaḷas or the Mysore Rājas or others came from the north, if tradition is to be believed. What is the evidence on which the relations of the Pallavas with the Vākāṭakās are sought to be established ? How do we know that the Pallavas were good Brahmans of the north, of the military profession ? The Talgunḍa inscription refers to them as Kṣatriyəs. Dr. Minakshi's notes at chapter ends are very instructive and interesting and her identification of Vīrapuram, Note B, bears further examination and I hope that the Department will be pleased to conduct an experiment in the area to the South of Dharani Kota and about a mile north-west of the famous Amarāvathi Stūpa. The cross currents of ancient civilization are brought out beautifully in the translation from *Bulletin De l'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient*, Vol. 24, 1924, Note D. The account of the popular tradition of Camboj transcending the origin of the first royal dynasty to the marriage of an Indian Prince with a Nāgi and the account of Herodotus discovering the union of a mythical hero with a woman serpent, the transmission of the kingdom from mother to the son, and the immediate establishing of a dynasty transferring powers from king to king by male descent and a huge bow whose manipulation, as in the legend of Kaundinya, testifies to the supernatural strength of the drawer of the bow and assures him powers of sovereignty, amply repay perusal. We are not sure whether Asvatthaman is a Pallava counterpart of this tradition.

Administration and social life follows as under the Cōḷas,

Kālacuris, the early Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas : the difference is not marked. Readers of the South Indian Inscriptions should have noticed, when grants were made by the king, consent of the Mahājanas was sometimes taken which shows that the absolute rule of the king was controlled by the popular will. After the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, when the Pallava kingdom was subject to anarchy, the subjects of the Pallava kingdom chose to elect a king. The details of this election are contained in the important constitutional document of the Vaikuntaperumāl temple. They are represented by the sculptures on the temple which show that under the Pallavas election of a king by the subjects under extraoridnary conditions was not unknown. Here is an instance where, in spite of divine origin attributed to kings, important groups of the realm took part and exercised political responsibility. It is further worthy of note that in the earlier records no divine right is claimed for them, it is only in the later copper plates of the family they trace their origin from Brahman. The emblem not merely symbolised the religion of the State but being the bull, the patience and assiduity necessary for the acheivement of greatness.

The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates refer to the *Amātya* of Śivaskandavarman as distinct from a minister who is generally a diplomat and not a councillor. Manu used *Sachivas* for general and *Amātya* to denote the chief minister but *Śukranīti* takes *mantrin* to mean the chief minister. The Pallava judicial court was known as *Adhikaraṇa.* The judicial court was not free from corruption and justice was not at all meted out without partiality. A direct hit on the morality of the judicial court in the city of Kāñcī comes directly from the author of *Mattavilāsa.* When the Pāśupata of the play suggested that the quarrel should be decided by the court, Devasōmā bursts forth with the following statement :—

"Why this man has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many monasteries ; and with it he can stuff the mouths of the court officials at pleasure. But I am a maid of a poor Kapālin whose only wealth is a

snake's skin and sacred ash and what riches have I here that I should go into the court ? "

The author of *Mattavilāsa* purposely exposed the follies of the judicial court in order that reformation may be aimed at. The beginnings of an efficient system of land survey and revenue noticeable under the Cōḷas had its beginnings under the Pallavas as many copper-plates suggest. Dr. Minakshi gives a list of the hereditary servants of the king's palace with their duties and I do not know whether the occupation in jobs was hereditary and whether this corresponds to what we find in the Bārabalutis. In revenue and taxation several details are given and the data for finding out the instances are lacking. There are thirty items of taxes varying in nature, number, kind, amount, incidence and spread. It would be interesting to find out how many of these still exist. Construction of channels for conducting water from rivers and tanks and the digging of large wells for purposes of irrigation, was, then as now, under administrative control but every encouragement was given for private effort to provide sufficient facilities for drinking water and for irrigation. A careful scrutiny of the Tamil records of the Pallavas reveals the existence of the village committees as early as the eighth century A.D. but the committees of the village administration developed in remarkable detail under the Cōḷas. One could not close a review of the work on the Pallavas without a reference to the social life and their great contribution to Indian art and architecture. The ruins of Mahābalipuram and some of the temples at Kāñcī are world famous. The ladies of the royal household were cultured, pious and charitable in disposition. Rangapatākā, the favourite queen of Rājasimha, was the builder of the Kailāsnātha temple famous for its paintings. The memorial stones of the Pallava period do not appear to have been so numerous as we find for instance later on in the Hoysaḷa but there were many *Vīrakals* and *Mastikals* studded all over the country. The Adi Varaha cave at Mahabalipuram gives two sets of royal portraits illustrated in the work under reference. The earliest reference to a temple built on the tomb of a dead

person is perhaps the one at Satyavedu, in the Ponneri Taluk in the Chingleput District and the anthropomorphic form of Śiva with the linga illustrated from Mahabalipuram is noteworthy. Likewise the head-offering or the *sidi tale kodu*, where a hero or a garuda offers his life on an occasion when the town is destroyed or when he loses in battle or when he finds that his king is dead and that it is not worth while for him to live after him (King). We have already referred to the literary activities of the period and the establishment of Agrahāras and Universities for the purpose. Dr. Minakshi's description of the Educational Institutions of the Pallavas is excellent. In referring to the association of Śankara with Kāñcī and his image in the famous Kāmākṣi temple the authoress discusses the date of Śankara. The date of Śankara continues to be a vexed problem in Indian History, people still going some six centuries behind the date given by the late Justice Telang. Chintāmaṇi places Śankara in the seventh century. A reference to *Soundaryalahari* is otherwise explained. The *Puṇyaślōka Manjari* and its commentaries take us still further back. If that be so, how could we say that Śankara lived between 600 and 800 A.D. Perhaps, Dr. Minakshi thought for the purposes of her consideration, it was enough if we took the period as a whole without being particular about the dates from Telang onwards. A discussion on the date of Śankara is found in the Journal *Jigñāsa*, Vol. I, Parts 3 & 4, pp. 1–44. The chapter on the technique of music is excellent and her discussion with reference to the inscriptions which indicate the *svaras* and different features in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. She is herself a distinguished musician and it is no wonder that she has made this remarkable contribution to a brilliant exposition of the art. The surname of Mahēndravarman, Sankīrtanajāti, as born of mixed caste, is not correct for, as Mr. Krishna Sastri interprets, Sankīrtanajāti is the name of a variety of musical time and Mahēndravarman held it as he was the inventor of this type of *tāḷa*, himself one of the greatest musicians of South India.

S. S.

The Nyāya Theory of Knowledge. (By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, Calcutta.)

NYĀYA lays down the rules and methods necessary for an understanding of the material of our knowledge, by processes analytical and reflective, and is an advance on the unreflective general knowledge in which we are more receptive than critical. It is sometimes taken to mean a syllogistic type of inference consisting of five propositions called its members. It is also called a system of philosophy, as its ultimate end like the other systems, is liberation which is the *summun bonum* of life.

The book under review is an attempt to give a complete account of the Nyāya theory in comparison with the rival theories of other systems, Indian and Western, together with a critical estimation of its worth. Its scope, however, is limited to the history of the Nyāya philosophy beginning with the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama and ending with the syncritic works of Annam Bhatta, Visvanātha and others. The method of exposition adopted in the book is comparative and critical. It is usual to club the Nyāya theory of Gautama with the Vaiśeṣika theory of Kant though there are material differences in the two systems. All the four kinds of validity of knowledge, *viz.* perception, inference, comparison and testimony, are dealt with in detail by the author. The method of logical analysis employed by the Nyāya theory in the study of problems of logic and metaphysics is of valuable assistance for any system of philosophy and the system is therefore, a repudiation of a charge made against Indian philosophy that its theories are not based on logical reasoning but on religious authorities. A full chapter is devoted to the test of truth and error by stating problems and giving alternative solutions according to the Nyāya theory of existence, validity and invalidity from the point of view of the several schools of philosophical thought. We congratulate the author on the lucid exposition of this difficult task.

N. I.

The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq. (By Dr. Mahadi Husain, Lecturer in History and Politics, Agra College, Agra. Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1. European Edition. Price 15*s.* or Rs. 10–5–0 ; Indian Edition, 12*s.* or Rs. 8–2–0.)

THIS is a crtical study of one of the most important, interesting and yet misunderstood characters in Medieval India. It is an earnest attempt to unravel the mystery of Muhammad bin Tughluq, to find out the controlling factors underlying his life and to analyse and appraise the cause of his rise and fall. The book under review comprises the whole of Medieval India from 1206–1526, describing the causes of the rise and fall of the Slave, the Khilji, the Tughluq, the Syed and the Lodi dynasties; *i.e.* the Muhammadan period in India down to Mughul times and the second chapter is an extensive study of the causes and circumstances which led to the rise of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and of his well-known son Sultan Muhammad. In writing this chapter Dr. Husain has fully utilized the unique manuscripts of the *Tughluq Nāma* of Amir Khusrau which is found in the Habib-ganj Library of Nawab Sardar Yar Jung. In the next chapter, the misunderstanding about the name of the emperor is discussed and his true name is given as Muhammad bin Tughluq and then the commonly accepted theory about the emperor's descent is discussed. Muhammad bin Tughluq who was known as Ulugh Khan during the reign of his father Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq led a campaign into the Deccan and the author joins issue with Ibn Battuta concerning the causes of the trouble which occurred in the Prince's army in Telingana. The author's account of the Delhi Sultanate in the beginning of the fourteenth century differs from the hitherto accepted political geography of the empire, particularly in the South. The author arranges the rebellions and disorders in the country in serial and chronological order showing the reaction of each on the domestic politics as well as on the personal history of the emperor. In his account of the Khilafat, he traces the process which directed or led Muhammad bin Tughluq to pin his faith to it.

Why an emperor who was so learned and experienced, who claimed to be 'Adil' (just), and whose coins were inscribed with titles such as—"the earnest in the way of God", why an emperor who was the richest and the mightiest of all the rulers of his age, and who received embassies from many courts and countries should be called a visionary and a madman and cursed as a Khuni (bloody) Sultan, is an enigma. His reign is said to have been marked by reckless prodigality and attempts to carry out hair-brained schemes, the chief of which were the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri, his introduction of a debased currency and widely ambitious designs for the conquest of Khurasan and China. Perhaps, a capital centrally situated was expected to bring peace and restore order throughout the vast dominions of the Sultanate. As a set off to these are mentioned his ferocious cruelty, relentless taxation and man-hunting expeditions which provoked universal rebellions and disorders and shattered his empire. Dr. Husain however criticises the generally accepted view of the alleged transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri carried out with ruthless cruelty and says that the people were never forced to evacuate Delhi. The emigration was in the main limited to Muslims or to a certain section of the Muslims, the Ulama and the Mshaikh; the Hindus were deliberately left alone. Delhi was never left uninhabited and did not suffer to the extent and degree described by medieval and modern writers. "To judge Muhammad bin Tughluq from the standpoint of the twentieth century", says Dr. Husain, "is to commit an anachronism. There is a great difference between the characteristic features of the fourteenth and twentieth centuries....But men will always hold divided opinions about him....But....he was neither visionary nor impracticable, nor inherently unsound, nor were his grandiose schemes beyond the range of human possibility. He was far in advance of his age, and could not like a modern government exploit religion which he would have left to itself, if he wanted to rule successfully". In this connection the following taken from the *Founders of Vijayanagara* may be read with interest:

"Muhammad Tughluq's invasion of the Deccan is variously accounted for. The idea of a central capital for all India including the South, exhibition of prowess of the Imperial arms, punishment of recalcitrant Hindu princes and a little quiet in the northern provinces are amongst these. The prospective conqueror of China, Persia, Nepal and other countries would be anxious to have all India completely subject and submissive to his rule."

Dr. Husain has rendered very useful service in the cause of historical research by his careful translation and incorporation of *Muhammad bin Tughluq* and the *Futuh-us-Salatin* which he has edited and published separately under the subtitle of "The Shah Nāma of Medieval India".

S. A.

Telugu

Velugōtivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi. (Edited with Introduction by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, No. 6, Madras.)

THE book under review, *Velugōtivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, mostly in Telugu verse is a family chronicle relating to the history of the Zemindars of Venkatagiri. The present edition of the *Vaṁśāvaḷi* is based upon two manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and carefully edited by Dr. Venkataramanayya.

The founder of the Rēcerla clan, the ancestors of the present Zemindars of the Venkatagiri family, was a farmer called Cevvi Reddi of Anumangallu village who rose to eminence as tradition asserts by getting into possession a fabulous treasure through the sacrifice of his faithful pancama servant. The family came into prominence during the reign of the Kākatīya Monarch, Ganapati, who ruled at Warangal from 1198 to 1236, and acquired an extensive estate in the reigns

of his successors. After the fall of the Kākatīya kingdom the rulers of this family became the subordinate chiefs to ruling sovereigns of the place, till they secured their independence and established themselves in the mountainous tracts of Nālgonda. Driven in conflict by powerful neighbours, they migrated into the Karnātaka country under the Vijayanagara rulers. The present *Vaṁśāvaḷi* is of twenty-four generations. Cevvi Reddi being the first and Singa being the last, the present Zemindar of Venkatagiri being the twenty-seventh generation.

Prasaditya, one of the three sons of Cevvi Reddi, appears to have helped Rudrāmba, to the Kākatīya throne and if so he may claim some credit in the exploits of this famous queen and perhaps justly earned the title of *Kākatī-rājya-sthāpanā-cārya*. Erra Daca of the fourth generation also is said to have countered the Pāṇḍyan ruler at Kāñcī and suppressed many of the revolting chiefs in battles. The Editor, we think rightly, regards many of these claims as highly exaggerated.

Eca, the third son of Erra Daca, claims a victory over the chief of the Kōlacalama as he and his brothers Singa I, Venna and Eca witnessed the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D. at the hands of the Muhammadans and the establishment of new kingdoms of Rācakonda and Koṇḍavīdu. The incessant warfare with the Reddis of Koṇḍavīdu was continued by Singa II and Vedagiri I of the seventh generation and Gajapati was obliged to offer peace and give his daughter in marriage to Singa. Koṇḍavīdu was split in 1403 into two hostile powers, encouraging foreign powers to intervene. To Vedagiri are attributed the defeat of the five chiefs who were subordinates to Kataya Vema and also the bold encounter with the Vijayanagara forces in 1384.

Linga of the ninth generation was a distinguished warrior with a splendid record of military glory, and his exploits are remarkably dealt with (by Dr. Venkataramanayya). While Sriranga III was sorely pressed by the ceaseless invasions of the Muhammadan armies from all sides and the subordinate nobles were becoming traitorous and faithless in the hour of

need, Velugōti Singha, an ancestor of the Venkatagiri Zemindari, remained steadfast and loyal and supported the king. The *Velugōtivāri Vamśāvaḷi* is an interesting chronicle of events affording valuable information of the various battles which the chiefs waged against Vijayanagara, Koṇḍavīdu, Rajahmundry, Cuttack and Bidar.

P. B. R.

Kannada

Niṣkāmakarmayōga. (Published by the Guru Seva Samiti. Copies could be obtained from B. Seshagiriah, 12/3, "Bhagavan," Basavangudi, Bangalore City. Price Rough Copy, Re. 0–6–0 ; Glazed Copy, Re. 0–12–0.)

NIṢKĀMAKARMAYŌGA is an excellent work in popular and understandable Kannada on the *Bhagavad Gīta*, the teachings of Srī Kṛṣṇa. The author Sri Cidambarar has spared no trouble in making the work as complete as possible and as simple an exposition of the *Bhagavad Gīta* as could be made. It is published by the Guru Seva Samiti, Gubbi, which is rendering yeomen service for Sanātana Dharma. The Lord is everything, it is He Who inspires, He Who controls and He Who guides us in our actions. What we desire, what we feel, what we work for, what we are made to do, is all His and therefore what is enjoyed, what bliss is derived is also His. Eleven chapters expound the *Gīta*. The Lord is the Lord of the Universe and everything is at His instance. The reason, the occasion for action and the circumstances in which the teachings of the *Gīta* took place are very well narrated in the account. The simile describing the *Gīta* as a cow, embracing the entire field of the Upaniṣads, whose milk is arranged to be milched, Arjuna being the calf who is tied elsewhere while the milk itself is distributed by the Lord over the whole world, is literally true and no one who reads the seven hundred verses of the *Gīta* could fail to find this out for himself. Who is the Lord of the *Gīta*? The All Highest is not distinguished by *nāma* or *rūpa* and as the *Gīta* says all *nāmas* and

rūpas are Himself. He has no birth or rebirth and as in the case of the human body there is no such thing as increase or decrease but it is the belief in God which is responsible for and which is the foundation of this Universe. We are then told what *Gīta* expounds. Arjuna says that he would not fight even if he should be killed but after the exposition of the *Gīta* by the Lord he realises his duty with his aid and is no longer in *mōha* ; and he is willing to do his duty as Kṛṣṇa directs. Every act (*karma*) sticks to you and you are obliged to suffer and enjoy the benefit of it unless you do it with complete detachment. Hence *Niṣkāma karma* or action without attachment is recommended. That is why Patañjali says *Iśvarapraṇadadhvā*, *i.e.* you get *yoga siddhi* by complete surrender to God and Śrī Rāmānuja follows suit by recommending *Prapaṭṭi*. The *Gīta* tells you to do your duty regardless of the consequences. Trust in God and do the right. Let no desire or ambition affect you. Salvation or *mōkṣa* gives complete freedom or liberty because the earthly shackles of pleasure and pain, happiness and misery, have nothing to do with it. Such a peace is not easy to attain. Do not lose yourself in joy or get depressed by sorrow, for both is the same. Control yourself, be devoted to the Lord and then what is there to do? For the *karma yogi* there should be no anxiety, no ambition and duty must be its only reward. He should not think that he is a great man, but must think that service is his lot. The 'I' must disappear whether for good or for evil. This is expounded in detail in the several chapters of the Introduction which follow the chapter on the attainment of *Jñāna*. After dealing with *Niṣkāma karma yoga*, the *Jñāna yoga* and others, in Chapter Thirteen, the *yoga* dealing with *Kṣetra* and *Kṣetrajña vibhāga yoga* and followed by *guṇa traya* are dealt with in the form of a simple dialogue. As the work is intended, it fulfils its task—that of making the ordinary rustic to understand and to enable him to realise the foundation of the teachings of the *Gīta*. Sri Cidambarar compares our body to the field of Kurukṣētra and expounds how in our heart of hearts there

is always a turmoil between desire and fulfilment, ambition and its non-fulfilment, happiness and misery, pleasure and pain, the reconciliation being accomplished in our realising that all this is the play of God and that we must do our duty and do it rightly without waiting for its consequences.

About the translation of the *Gīta* I can confidently say that every attempt has been made to see that the translation is literally correct and satisfactory, with reference to the text. We desire to congratulate the Guru Seva Samiti for publishing this excellent volume in readable Kannada on the teachings of the *Bhagavād Gīta*.

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